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RICHARD DE NORMANDIE DANS LES CHANSONS DE GESTE

LES CHANSONS de geste célèbrent un personnage qui, de l'aveu de tous, n'est autre que Richard I, petit-fils de Rollon, fils de Guillaume Longue-Épée, duc de Normandie de 943 à 996.

La *Chanson de Roland* le connaît déjà. C'est lui qui commande, dans la bataille contre Baligant, l'*eschiele* des Normands :

3044 Naimes li dux et li quens Jozerans
La quinte eschele unt faite de Normans.
Vint milie sunt, ço dient tuit li Franc.
Armes unt beles et bons cevals curanz;
Ja pur murir cil n'erent recreanz;
Suz ciel n'ad gent ki plus poissent en camp;
Richarz li vielz les guierat el camp:
Cil i ferrat de sun espiet trenchant.¹

Il n'est pas compté au nombre des douze pairs dans la *Chanson de Roland*, mais bien dans *Gui de Bourgogne*, dans *Renaut de Montauban*, dans *Fierabras*, etc. Les chansons mêmes qui ne l'admettent pas dans la liste honorée des douze pairs le tiennent du moins pour l'un des principaux barons de Charlemagne, comme il convient au possesseur du beau fief qu'est la Normandie.

Il tient donc un emploi dans presque toutes les chansons de geste. M. Clemens Brix, en une dissertation très méritoire,² a rassemblé les mentions que font de lui les chansons de geste, et a résumé les scènes où il figure; par malheur, si les chansons de geste peuvent

¹ Edition Gröber (*Bibliotheca romanica*); cf. vers 171.

² *Richard I., Herzog von der Normandie in der französischen Literatur* (dissertation de doctorat de l'Université de Münster), 1904.

fournir sur Richard une collection de fiches, on ne saurait tirer de ces fiches une biographie poétique.

En effet, ce haut seigneur n'est, poétiquement, qu'un assez mince personnage. Il se tient avec complaisance à la disposition des poètes, prêt à toutes sortes de besognes. Dans les *Saisnes*, par exemple, il est un des "barons herupés" qui refusent à Charlemagne le tribut; plus tard, réconcilié avec l'empereur, il obtient de lui de commander contre les païens la première "bataille."³ Dans la *Destruction de Rome*, il descend en Italie à la tête d'une armée d'avant-garde. Dans *Fierabras*, dans la *Prise de Pampelune*, il combat vaillamment en Espagne. Dans *Aymeri de Narbonne*,⁴ quand Charlemagne offre la ville de Narbonne à ses compagnons harassés de guerre et que tous refusent tour à tour, l'empereur ne manque pas de l'offrir à Richard de Normandie:

"Venez avant, Richarz de Normendie;
Vous estes dus de molt grant seignorie,
Si estes plains de grant chevalerie:
Tenez Narbone, prenez en la baillie . . ."

et, comme les autres, Richard de Normandie refuse. Pareillement, dans *Renaut de Montauban*,⁵ quand Charlemagne requiert tour à tour ses principaux barons de se charger de conduire l'un des fils Aymon au gibet, il ne manque pas d'en requérir Richard de Normandie:

"Venés avant, Richars de Ruhem la cité;
Vous iestes uns de ceus u plus me sui fiés;
Onques de vo linage ne me vint fausetés:
Or vos covient, amis, que Richart me pandés,"

et, comme les autres, Richard de Normandie refuse. Dans ce même roman de *Renaut de Montauban*, Richard joue plus tard un beau rôle de prisonnier intrépide,⁶ mais il est visible qu'à son défaut le poète en aurait aussi bien chargé un Estout de Langres, ou un Ydelon de Bavière, ou tout autre comparse disponible; et c'est au hasard aussi que le poète du *Couronnement de Louis*⁷ lui a confié un rôle

³ *La Chanson des Saxons*, édition Fr. Michel, tome II, p. 58.

⁴ Edition Demaison, v. 358.

⁵ Edition Michelant, p. 268.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 382 ss.

⁷ Edition Langlois, *passim*.

de rebelle. Selon le *Couronnement de Louis*, Richard meurt prisonnier du fils de Charlemagne, à Orléans, dans un sombre cachot; cependant, la *Chanson de Roland* l'avait fait périr bien plus tôt, en Espagne, sous les coups de l'émir Baligant (v. 3471); mais, au dire de la *Chevalerie Ogier*,⁸ il serait mort bien plus tôt encore, en Lombardie, tué par le roi Desiiier; ce qui n'empêche pas, s'il faut en croire le roman de *Gormond et Isembard*,⁹ qu'il ait été occis par le roi Gormond, à Cayeux en Vimeu. Ces quatre versions de sa mort, à Orléans, en Espagne, en Lombardie, en Vimeu, sont le symbole de l'insignifiance de sa destinée poétique. Tour à tour bon vassal de Charlemagne et vassal révolté du fils de Charlemagne, le roi Louis,—bon vassal néanmoins, dans *Gormond*, du roi Louis,—et nonobstant vassal révolté, dans *Garin le Lorrain*,¹⁰ de Pépin le Bref, nous dirions que Richard joue dans l'épopée française un rôle incohérent, s'il n'était plus exact de dire qu'il n'y joue aucun rôle réel.

Il n'y est rien, qu'un nom. Mais sur ce nom se pose avec une netteté particulière le problème de la formation des chansons de geste. Comment nos vieux poètes l'ont-ils connu et introduit dans leurs romans?

Léon Gautier fait sans hésiter la réponse habituelle: "Il est permis d'affirmer qu'à l'époque du *Roland* des chants populaires lyriques étaient depuis longtemps consacrés à notre héros."¹¹

Devant cette théorie des "chants populaires lyriques," nous restons parfois désarmés. Par exemple, les romans de chevalerie du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle connaissent un "roi Desiiier de Lombardie" ou un "roi Yon de Gascogne": c'est, dit la théorie, que Yon et Desiiier ont été de leur vivant chantés en des "ballades," ou en des "cantilènes," ou en des "chants populaires lyriques," voir en des "poèmes épiques," lesquels se sont propagés à travers les siècles. Et si nous osons dire au contraire que ces noms ont pu être tirés par les poètes du XII^e siècle de banales livres latins ou de banales traditions d'église, on nous somme d'en produire des preuves. Comment en produire? Parfois, nous n'en avons d'autres que celles

⁸ Edition Barrois, v. 5409.

⁹ Edition Bayot, v. 134 ss.

¹⁰ Edition P. Paris, tome I, p. 67.

¹¹ A la note du vers 171 de son édition de la *Chanson de Roland*.

que nous tirons de l'extrême invraisemblance de l'hypothèse adverse, et de notre impuissance à nous représenter ce qu'auraient pu être ces illustres "ballades" ou "cantilènes" ou "épopées" du VIII^e ou du IX^e siècle.

Nous serions ici dans le même embarras, si Richard avait comme Desiiier vécu au temps de Charlemagne, ou, comme le roi Yon, au temps de Charles Martel. Mais il a vécu bien plus récemment, et l'hypothèse des "cantilènes" ne peut être formée à son sujet sans que sa bizarrerie frappe aussitôt les yeux. Richard de Normandie est mort en 996, près de deux siècles après Charlemagne. Le plus ancien romancier qui a eu la fantaisie de l'introduire dans une chanson de geste écrivait au plus tard cent ans après cette date de 996, puisque Richard est déjà un personnage du *Roland*. Ce premier auteur, faisant de Richard un baron de Charlemagne, a donc commis le même anachronisme que ferait un romancier d'aujourd'hui qui prendrait Napoléon pour l'un des généraux du roi Louis XIII.

Par là, il est visible que ce premier poète n'exploitait pas des "chants populaires lyriques" sur Richard de Normandie: ces chants populaires, à moins qu'on les veuille supposer vides de tout contenu, ne l'auraient-ils pas averti, par quelque circonstance de temps ou de lieu, que Richard ne vivait pas au temps de Charlemagne? Introduire dans l'armée de Roncevaux, à une époque où il n'y avait en France ni Normands ni duché de Normandie, une troupe de Normands commandée par le duc Richard de Normandie, c'est une erreur d'une admirable naïveté; elle ne se conçoit que si elle est le produit d'une ignorance du passé merveilleuse et totale.

En son ignorance un premier auteur a ramassé quelque part le nom de ce personnage historique. Où? Il n'importe guère de le savoir, semble-t-il. En toute région de la France, au XI^e et au XII^e siècle, les livres abondaient qui parlaient de ce Richard, et ces livres avaient des lecteurs: l'un quelconque de ces lecteurs a pu, par un hasard quelconque, communiquer ce nom à l'un quelconque des auteurs de nos chansons de geste.

* * *

Notre recherche pourrait donc prendre fin ici. Mais, ces mêmes auteurs de chansons de geste dont nous venons de constater à quel point ils ignoraient le passé, voici qu'à notre surprise ils savent rapporter de Richard trois traits particuliers, dont aucun n'est banal.

1° Ils l'appellent Richard le Vieux.¹² Pourquoi? *Ricardus vetus, vetulus, senior*,¹³ c'est le surnom que porte notre duc en diverses chroniques normandes, qui le distinguent ainsi de son fils et successeur Richard II († 1027). Ces poètes ignorants ont donc pris le nom de leur Richard à des gens qui, eux, étaient renseignés sur la série des ducs de Normandie et qui distinguaient les deux Richard: *Ricardus antiquior, Ricardus junior*.

2° En un certain passage du roman de *Gui de Bourgogne*,¹⁴ Richard porte un autre surnom:

Après parla Richars, li dus de Normandie:
C'est Richart sans poür, ke de Roen fu sire.

Richard *sans peur*: les historiens normands du XII^e siècle donnent en effet aussi à Richard I ce surnom, qui n'est pas indifférent, comme on le verra bientôt.

3° Dans *Gormond et Isembard*, notre héros apparaît dans la bataille:

140 Eis lur li quens de Normandie,
Celui ki de Ruen fu sire,
Qui de Fescamp fist l'abeïe.

C'est à Fécamp que nous mène aussi une autre chanson de geste, *Gui de Bourgogne*:

Après parla Richars, li dus de Normandie,
Qui de Fescamp fist faire la plus mestre abeïe;
Encor i gist en fiertre en une tor antie.

L'auteur de *Fierabras* sait de plus nous dire sous quel vocable Richard a placé l'abbaye de Fécamp: dans un épisode où les pairs de France, et parmi eux le duc Richard, admirent de riches statues

¹² *Chanson de Roland, Couronnement de Louis*, etc.

¹³ Chez Orderic Vital, chez Robert de Torigny, dans la *Chronique ascendante*, etc. Voyez Brix, ouvrage cité, p. 16, note 4. Cf. Gröber, dans le *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, tome II, p. 463, etc.

¹⁴ Vers 73, leçon du manuscrit du Musée britannique, à la page 135 de l'édition Guessard.

d'or de Jupin, d'Apollin, de Tervagant, qui parent une "synagogue" sarrasine, l'un d'eux s'écrie :

3169 " Car pleüst ore a Deu, le roi de maïsté,
Richarz tenist Jupin a Rouen sa cité,
S'en feroit le mostier de Sainte Trinité! "¹⁵

Voilà donc que se renouvelle pour Richard de Normandie le même fait singulier que nous offrent si souvent les chansons de geste. Comme pour Ogier, comme pour Guillaume, pour Girard et pour tant d'autres, les auteurs de ces romans, si prodigieusement ignorants de l'histoire vraie de leurs héros, savent pourtant quelles abbayes ils ont fondées ou protégées, et nous conduisent droit à leur tombeau. Ici encore, laissons-nous faire par eux et suivons-les où ils nous mènent.

* * *

Ouvrons les diverses chroniques de Normandie : celle de Wace,¹⁶ celle de Benoît.¹⁷ Elles racontent que le duc Richard avait d'avance fait préparer son cercueil et l'avait fait déposer dans l'abbaye, par lui enrichie, de la Sainte-Trinité à Fécamp. Par son ordre, chaque vendredi, on remplissait ce cercueil de froment et on le distribuait aux pauvres. Richard tomba malade à Bayeux; quand il sentit sa mort approcher, il se fit porter à Fécamp, dans sa chère abbaye, revêtit une haire, déposa une offrande sur le maître-autel, et reçut la communion et le viatique. On lui demanda quel lieu de l'église il avait choisi pour sa sépulture. Il répondit:¹⁸

" Amis, fait li dus, ne besoigne
Que cist mien cors, ceste charoigne,
De pechié plaine et de laidure,
Gise la enz, n'est pas droiture.
N'en sui dignes, qui forfaiz toz. . . . "

Et il demanda à être enterré à la porte de l'église, "ou desgout de la goutiere." On fit selon son désir. Mais le lendemain, le comte Raoul, ayant rouvert sa bière, trouva que son corps répandait une

¹⁵ Le poète n'a pas nécessairement confondu en ces vers Rouen et Fécamp; on peut entendre: "Plût à Dieu que Richard tint Jupin à Rouen, sa cité; de l'or de cette statue, il élèverait [à Fécamp] le moutier de Sainte-Trinité."

¹⁶ *Roman de Rou*, édition Hugo Andresen, tome II, v. 721 ss.

¹⁷ Benoît, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, édition Fr. Michel, v. 26304 ss.

¹⁸ Benoît, v. 26418.

odeur de sainteté. On éleva donc en ce lieu une chapelle, sous l'invocation de saint Thomas, et Richard II y fut à son tour enterré, en 1027. Le père et le fils restèrent là près d'un siècle et demi, et c'est cette tombe qu'ont pu voir nos plus anciens auteurs de chansons de geste. Mais, en 1162, les moines de la Sainte-Trinité voulurent leur donner une sépulture moins humble. L'élévation de leurs corps eut lieu en présence du roi d'Angleterre Henri II, et Wace la raconte en témoin oculaire :¹⁹

Le cors de lui et de sun pere,
Si que jel vi, kar jeo i ere,
Furent de terre relevez
Et triés le maistre autel portez.
La furent portez et la sunt :
Li moigne en grant chierté les unt.

Autour de cette sépulture des légendes se sont formées, et aussi dans les autres églises que Richard avait fondées ou enrichies, à Saint-Ouen de Rouen, à Saint-Wandrille en Caux, à Saint-Michel-du-Péril de la Mer.²⁰

Les unes avaient rapport à sa piété, comme le conte du sacristain de Saint-Ouen, ce fabliau monastique que Wace a rimé avec tant de bonhomie.²¹

D'autres légendes sont propres à expliquer ce surnom que lui donne une chanson de geste, Richard *sans peur*. L'une d'elles raconte son combat, l'épée à la main, la nuit, dans une église, contre un démon qui était entré dans la bière d'un mort exposé là :

Par nuit errout cume par jur,
Unkes de rien nen out poür.
Maint fantosme vit et trova :
Unkes de rien ne s'esfreia . . .
Pur ceo qu'il erroit par nuit tant
Alout la gent de lui disant

¹⁹ Rou, édition H. Andresen, v. 2243.

²⁰ Voyez Wace, *Chronique ascendante*, v. 245 ss.; Rou, v. 207 ss.; le *Roman du Mont-Saint-Michel*, par Guillaume de Saint-Pair, v. 1681 ss., v. 2714 ss., etc.

²¹ Rou, v. 336 ss.

K'autresi cler par nuit veait
Cum uns autres par jur feseit.²²

C'est par une de ces nuits, où il errait comme en plein jour, que le duc rencontra, dans la forêt de Moulineaux-sur-Seine, la troupe des âmes damnées, la *mesnie Hellequin*, qui s'en allait en Palestine combattre de fantastiques Sarrasins.²³ Richard attend le roi-fantôme, le force à l'emporter avec lui par les airs dans un pan de son manteau :

Adont partirent le dit Richart sans paour, Hellequin et toute sa mesgnie, faisans grant noise et tempeste. Et com vint a heure de mienuit, ledit Richart ouyt sonner une cloche comme a une abbaye et lors demanda ou c'estoit que la cloche sonnoit et en quel pais il estoient. Et le roi lui dist que c'estoient matines qui sonnoient en l'eglise de Sainte Catherine du Mont Sinai. Et le duc Richart sans paour, qui de tout temps avoit accoustumé d'aler a l'eglise, dist au roy qu'il y vouloit aler ouir matines. Lors le roy dist au duc Richard : "Tenez ce pan de ce drap et ne laissez point que tousjours vous ne soyez dessus et alez a l'eglise prier pour nous, et puis, au retourner, nous vous reviendrons querir."

Mais la plus illustre des légendes auxquelles le nom du duc Richard ait été mêlé est celle qui faisait la richesse et la gloire de l'abbaye de Fécamp, la légende du Précieux Sang. L'abbaye s'enorgueillissait de posséder, enfermées en deux capsules de plomb, le sang qui s'était figé autour des plaies du Sauveur en croix et le couteau dont s'était servi le disciple Nicodème pour recueillir ces parcelles du corps de Dieu.

Or c'est le duc Richard sans peur, selon la tradition de l'abbaye,²⁴

²² Rou, v. 275 ss. Cf. la *Chronique ascendante* de Wace, v. 2511 ss., la *Chronique* de Benoît (édition Fr. Michel, tome II, p. 325), etc. C'est sur ces chroniques et principalement sur les récits de Wace que se fonde le roman de chevalerie de *Richard sans peur*, duc de Normandie (du XIV^e siècle, en quatrains monorimes). Voyez sur ce roman, qui finit par entrer dans la librairie de colportage, Leroux de Lincy, *Nouvelle bibliothèque bleue*, Paris, 1842, p. XXV-XXIX, et G. Paris, *La Littérature normande avant l'annexion*, 1899, p. 11.

²³ D'après la *Chronique de Normandie* (fin du XIII^e siècle); voyez la *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, édition Fr. Michel, tome II, p. 336 ss.

²⁴ Représentée par un récit latin qui se lit en plusieurs manuscrits (Musée britannique, fonds Harley 1801; Caius College, à Cambridge, etc.), et qui a été traduit dès le XIII^e siècle en vers français. Ce poème français a été publié par Leroux de Lincy en appendice à son *Etude historique et littéraire sur l'abbaye de Fécamp*, 1840.

qui, par la grâce divine, avait retrouvé les titres d'authenticité de ces reliques. Un jour qu'il se faisait représenter par son chapelain les actes de l'église de Fécamp, occupée à cette époque par des religieuses, il y trouva un document jusqu'alors ignoré, l'histoire du Précieux Sang : on y lisait comment Isaac, neveu de Nicodème, avait enfermé les reliques dans le tronc d'un figuier et l'avait confié aux flots de la mer, et comment la mer l'avait porté au rivage choisi par Dieu ; comment un cerf blanc avait révélé au duc Ansegis le champ du figuier (*Fici campus*), et tous les miracles qui faisaient de ce champ un lieu sacré. Le duc Richard, émerveillé à la lecture de cet acte, appela des ouvriers de toutes parts et fit rechercher les reliques. On fouilla sous l'autel et on les y trouva enfermées dans le tronc du figuier. Richard fit alors élever, à la place de la modeste église bâtie par son père, Guillaume Longue-Epée, un temple magnifique. "Tous les matériaux étant réunis, il ouvrit lui-même la terre pour poser la première pierre du nouvel édifice, et cette pierre se trouva être un fragment de celle sur laquelle, au temps de Guillaume Longue-Epée, un ange avait laissé l'empreinte de son pied." Richard travaillait lui-même avec les ouvriers et enferma le précieux sang dans un pilier proche du maître-autel. Et pour qu'il fût mieux honoré, il remplaça les religieuses par une communauté d'hommes : les religieuses furent transférées à Montivilliers ; Richard établit à Fécamp des chanoines ; son fils, Richard II, y fit venir des bénédictins.

A quelle époque fut rédigée cette histoire ? Sans doute vers 1171, date à laquelle les moines, ayant retrouvé le pilier où Richard avait caché les reliques, les transférèrent sur le maître-autel. Mais il est probable que, bien plus anciennement, on racontait à Fécamp une histoire analogue du Précieux Sang. Vers l'an 1120 déjà, l'archevêque de Dol, Baudri de Bourgueil, ayant visité l'abbaye, écrivait une relation de sa visite, d'où il suffira de détacher ces quelques lignes : "Ce monastère est digne d'être comparé à la Jérusalem céleste. On le nomme la Porte du ciel, le Palais du Seigneur. L'or et l'argent y brillent de toutes parts, et les ornements de soie. On y voit beaucoup de reliques, et l'on y conserve le Précieux Sang de Jésus-Christ, qui fut inhumé par Nicodème, comme le dit saint Jean. Des pèlerins viennent en foule de tous pays vers cette abbaye."

Des pèlerins, et sans doute aussi, à leur suite, des jongleurs. La légende du Précieux Sang de Fécamp rappelle aisément une légende

illustre dans la poésie: celle du Saint-Graal. Ce qui est sûr du moins, c'est que les vieux romanciers du Graal ont remarqué l'analogie et fait le rapprochement: en des vers bien connus,²⁵ un continuateur de Chrétien, au moment de raconter l'aventure du Mont Douloureux, allègue comme son autorité un livre de l'abbaye de Fécamp. Il racontera cette aventure, dit-il,

Si com li contes nos afiche
Qui a Fescans est touz escrits.

* * *

Si les jongleurs ont introduit Richard de Normandie dans les romans carolingiens, c'est qu'ils connaissaient ces légendes, du moins les plus anciennes; c'est qu'ils avaient visité l'abbaye de Fécamp.

C'est une conjecture, dira-t-on. Non, mais un fait. Un document précieux nous apprend que des jongleurs hantaient en effet cette abbaye et qu'ils étaient en relations étroites avec ces bénédictins.

C'est une pièce que Leroux de Lincy (*Essai historique et littéraire sur l'abbaye de Fécamp*, Rouen, 1840, p. 378) a publiée "d'après le Vidimus d'une charte de la fin du XII^e siècle, conservée à Rouen dans les Archives de la Seine-inférieure." Léon Fallue (*Histoire de la ville et de l'abbaye de Fécamp*, Rouen, 1841, p. 485) en a publié la vieille traduction que voici:

Charte de la confrérie de saint Martin des frères jongleurs établie à Fécamp.

A tous les filz de sainte mere Eglise asqueiulx ces present escrit vendra, je, Raal, humble abbé de Sainte Trinité de Fescamp salut en vrai salu de tout le monde. A desservir la grace de la divine pitié notre Seigneur, nulle chose tant ne lui plect comme aemplier la lay et les commandemens faire, et que nous soions aussi courchiés et dolens des pechiés et des mesaventures de nos freres comme de nos meïsmes; ne autrement nous ne pourrions aler lassus amont en paradis pour le pechié de la char, qui tant est pesans, se grant carité de fraternité, de devocion, d'oresons, d'omosnes ne nous alege le pechié, et que nous entendons²⁶ que est devocion et²⁷ oreson et omosne. Nous avons recheü avec nous une maniere de gens seculiers, lesqueiulx l'en appelle

²⁵ Voyez le livre de Miss Jessie L. Weston, *The Legend of Perceval*, p. 155, et William A. Nitze, dans *Modern Philology*, 1909, vol. VII, p. 153.

²⁶ Corriger: et se nous n'entendons?

²⁷ L'édition Fallue porte *de* et non *et*.

Jongleurs.²⁸ Jaçoit ceu que la vie d'iceulx soit abandonnee a jouer et que elle soit esoulourjable,²⁹ nequedent le fondement de foy qui est fundé en Jhesu Crist fait divers membres³⁰ aerdre a un bon chief. Laquelle chose n'est pas nouvelle ne nouveument trouvee, ainz fu commenchie en temps de bonne memoire Ricart premier, duc de Normendie, et dura tout le temps o segond duc Ricart et emprès mons. Willeme abbé. A icellui temps defailli iceste fraarie,³¹ mès par mauvestié et par avarice qui tousjours refrede et amenise, fut delessie iceste fraarie après la mort du premier roi Henri. Adechertes mons. Henri, de bon[ne] memoire abbé, a icellui temps renouvela iceste fraarie³² et les rechut et concueilli en fraternité par le consentement de tout le chapistre. Adechertes, jeu, Raal, abbé, ne vuil pas que je n'ensuive les escrases et les faiz de si grans gens et de si nobles, [si] m'establi frere d'iceulx freres jongleurs, et leur octroyons plaine parcheünerie de tous nos bienfais qui seront fais en notre abbeie, si est assavoir en messes, en vegilles, en jeünes, en aumosnes en oresons, et en toutes choses plaisantes a Dieu, que par carité ardente puissent ovec nous, et nous ovec eux, aparestre devant la fache Jhesu Crist en leeché et exultation o symphonies, o timbres, o vieles, o psalterions, o orgues, o harpes, o fieules plaines de bones odours tenantes en leur mains.³³ Especiaument pour iceulx et pour nos freres,³⁴ en tout temps et chascun jour nous celebrons trois messes, l'une de Saint Esprit que il nous commant au Filx; l'autre de Notre Dame qu'elle deprie pour nous son Filx; la tierche pour les trespasés que eulx aient repos pardurable. Et chascune fois que il y en ara un trespasé des freres, et l'en le nous lerra assavoir, il sera assous premierement en chappitre et en fesmes le servise auxi hautement come de un de nos freres moignes. Et chascun an pour icheux freres nous faisons deux trentieulx,³⁵ l'un après Noel, l'autre emprès Penthecoustes. Ceste fraarie doit estre en ceste maniere tenue que chascun an, au jour de la Saint Martin en esté, s'assembleront les freres jongleurs et tous ceulx que nous avons recheüs ovec nous et ferons tous ensemble une sollempnité et sollempnelle procession, et de chascun d'iceulx l'en cuidra cinq deniers, lesqueulx

²⁸ Voici le texte original: *Inter caritatis nostre sinum in unitate fraternitatis quosdam homines seculares, arti jocularie deditos, volenter et diligenter admisimus.*

²⁹ *Quorum etsi ludicra et lubrica sit vita . . .*

³⁰ *Membra debilia.*

³¹ Le texte latin porte autre chose: *Tempore secundi Ricardi dominique Willelmi abbatis primi perfecta plenius et consummata, ad nostram usque perseveravit etatem. Sed . . .*

³² *Fraternitas.*

³³ *Quatinus caritate juvante et ipsi nobiscum et nos cum illis in leticia et exultatione, in symphonia et choro, in tympano et psalterio, in cordis et organo, in manibus tenentes cytharas et phyalas plenas odoramentorum conspectui summi regis valeamus apparere.*

³⁴ *Specialiter autem tam pro eis quam pro reliquis fratribus nostris . . .*

³⁵ *Duo tricenaria.*

seront en tel maniere departis que les deux pars seront a[s] meseaux de Fescamp, la tierche partie sera au luminaire de nostre eglise, la quinte partie sera a l'euvre d'icelle esglise avec les lais des mors. Et en l'obbit d'iceulx freres larra chascun qui pourra trois soubx, les povres deux soulx, les très povres douse deniers. Tous ceux qui tendront ceste fraarie, soient jongleurs ou chevaliers ou autres, lerront du leur a l'euvre de la dite eglise. Adechertes de ceste fraarie nous establimes mestre et recteur Henri de Gravenchon.⁸⁶ A tous ceulx qui ceste fraarie tendront et garderont soit pais et joie *in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Ce beau document appelle quelques remarques. Ici, comme dans l'étude de tant d'autres légendes épiques, les jongleurs de geste nous conduisent vers une abbaye; une fois de plus, entrant dans cette abbaye, nous constatons que ces jongleurs sont liés avec ces moines par des rapports réguliers,—mais combien étroits, à Fécamp!

Cette charte est, je crois, le plus ancien document qui atteste la formation d'une confrérie de jongleurs.

L'abbé de qui ellé émane est le sixième abbé de Fécamp, Raoul d'Argences, qui régit le monastère de 1188 à 1219. Mais il résulte de ce texte que la confrérie est bien plus ancienne. Les liens de fraternité entre moines et jongleurs s'étaient relâchés ou brisés quelque temps, dit la charte, après la mort du roi Henri I^{er} d'Angleterre (1135); mais l'abbé Henri de Sully (1139-1188) les avait renoüés. La confrérie florissait donc à la belle époque des chansons de geste, et, s'il fallait en croire la tradition du monastère, elle remonterait aux premières années de sa fondation, au temps même du duc Richard I. Certes, ce trait doit être légendaire: il ne prouve pas moins que les jongleurs du XII^e siècle croyaient que le bon duc Richard les avait appelés, lui le premier: "mes frères les jongleurs." N'en est-ce pas assez pour expliquer qu'ils l'aient admis dans leurs poèmes et placé au nombre des douze pairs de Charlemagne?

JOSEPH BÉDIER

NEW YORK,
22 décembre 1909

* Henricum de Grevencum.

ARTHURIAN LITERATURE

FROM the beginnings of Arthurian romance there has apparently been no subsidence of interest in the stories, both principal and secondary, which are connected with the name and exploits of the main character and the satellites swinging around him as a center. The production has not always been constant, nor do we find in each century reproductions of the tales and versions of the preceding century. This may be indicative of the real situation, or it may be due to the fact that all the copies of a certain version have been lost, or, if extant, still lie undiscovered in some hidden recess. The whole corpus of the literature belonging to the Arthurian cycle, and to the still more extensive one, the Celtic or Breton, must have been enormous. What relation the entire number of versions we now possess bears to the whole production will never be known. We have knowledge of certain versions which have been lost, and, in some cases, also of the names of the authors. It is the purpose of this article to determine, as well as can be done with the material available, the condition and progress of the literature and its geographical distribution, to show its chronological development, and to present the names and titles belonging to each century. Only literature, as such, will be considered, and no account will be taken here of the progress of critical literature: studies, editions, and similar productions. Theories regarding origins of the tales, or the hypothetical existence of unknown writers or versions will not be regarded, nor will any works inspired by the Arthurian stories, as, for instance, *Amadis*, *Le Petit Artus*, etc., be considered. Allusions to the presence of versions at different periods and in various countries may be found in many productions in the middle Ages, but all such references are of little value in this article, because, even if we can thus attest the existence of the tales, it is not certain that they were written in the language of the writer making the mention. Compare, for instance, the quotations in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Tratado*¹ concerning the existence

¹ Menéndez y Pelayo. *Tratado de los romances viejos*. Madrid (Bibl. clásica), 1903-6, II, 448 ff.

of Arthurian tales in Spain. Were these versions written in Spanish, French or Italian? We do not know. And, too, the names thus mentioned and the tales about them were, doubtless, due in many cases to oral tradition, and were thus not represented in the written literature of the time. This article is entirely historical, and, to a large extent, statistical, and is an attempt to bring together the information scattered here and there in monographs, which is frequently difficult to locate. The data given here have been obtained by extensive reading of monographs, critical editions, and bibliographies, searches made in journals and the publications of learned societies, and the examination of not easily accessible versions in the libraries of this country and Europe. The list is, certainly, not complete, nor, probably, in all cases correct, due to the lack of accurate knowledge regarding the treasures of libraries and the facts concerning early writers. The writer will be grateful for information regarding errors or omissions. Scholars are not agreed in many cases as to dates and relationships, nor even as to the existence, under names now known, of certain writers, nor concerning the original date of certain versions. This makes the task of the historian and bibliographer difficult. Thus, any enumeration is subject to error, but, in the light of what is known, based on extant versions, the statements regarding the condition of the cycle in any period are, probably, relatively correct. Few references are made to other articles, as this paper is to be followed by a chronological and descriptive bibliography of Arthurian literature, by means of which the statements here made can be controlled.

We may, for convenience, divide the whole period into two parts, one before and the other after the first printed monument. This division is purely arbitrary, and is not based on any suggestive development of the literature, but represents a certain factor in the production and preservation of previous versions which might have otherwise been lost. The two periods here established overlap, as manuscripts are found in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, although in small numbers. Doubtless more than those at present known have existed. The dividing date in our especial case is, as far as is known, 1477, when two German publications appeared, both at Augsburg, one dealing with *Perceval*, and the other treating of

Tituel. These were rapidly followed, as will be shown farther on, by versions on other subjects, and published in other cities and countries. The first period has for some time been the object of study by scholars with the view to solving, if possible, the problems regarding the origins of the cycle, the genealogy and interrelationship of versions. Various prose and metrical productions have been edited and subjected to critical analysis. Some attention has been directed to the narrations of the sixteenth and later centuries, but the period after the invention of printing has received little attention, except in the case of Malory, Tennyson, and Wagner. Much yet remains to be done, and, until the work has progressed more fully, it is impossible to state the real facts with accuracy, especially those concerning the large number of anonymous versions which have not been adequately described.

The earliest date for Arthurian literature is the eighth or ninth century, when, in Nennius, we have the first statement regarding Arthur, in which he is spoken of as a warrior. Evans² quotes the chronicle of Helinand,³ who writes to the effect, that a Breton hermit of the eighth century, 720, wrote a Latin history, or description, of the *Grail*, but, on page 297 of the work cited, Evans concludes that the work was written shortly before the year 1220.

Villemarqué⁴ publishes a Welsh popular song of the tenth century, *Arthur et la Reine Gwennivar*; on p. 427, a poem of the same century entitled *Arthur, Tristan et Gwalchmai*, and on p. 430, *Arthur un jour de bataille, fragment épique tiré de la légende armoricaine des rois, poème du X^e ou du XI^e siècle, d'après un manuscrit gallois en prose du XV^e siècle*. These statements are not supported by sufficient evidence to be conclusive.

We must then, in the absence of information to the contrary, consider Geoffrey of Monmouth as the next writer who interested himself in the Arthurian legend, although as incidental material in a different line of writing. In his *Historia Britonum* and *Vita Merlini*, Arthur appears as warrior and Merlin as prophet. No

² *The High History of the Holy Graal*, London, Dent, 1898, II, 293.

³ *Helinandi op.*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia, cursus completus*. Parisiis, 1844-6, CCXII, 814.

⁴ *Les Romans de la Table ronde*, etc. . . . , Paris, nouvelle édition, 1861, 140 ff.

legendary or fabulous deeds are here ascribed to Arthur; the statements are made with the coolness and assurance of the conscientious historian. Gildas, of the sixth century, is regularly mentioned in histories of the Arthurian cycle, but there is no mention in his writings of an Arthurian personage;⁵ he is connected with Geoffrey only through data concerning the history of the British people. Geoffrey became the basis of many chronicles⁶ and of a few works of semi-historical and semi-romantic fiction, and served as a medium for the introduction of legendary material, which, like the stories that became attached to Charlemagne, became identified almost exclusively with Arthurian personages.

The names in the twelfth century, including six chroniclers connected with Geoffrey of Monmouth, who translated or rehandled his *Historia Britonum*, are: Alfred of Beverly; Benedict of Gloucester, who, in his life of St. Dubricius, gives an outline of Geoffrey's account of Arthur; Bérout; Chrestien de Troyes; Eilhart von Oberg; Etienne, monk of Bec, who, in his *Draco Normannicus*, gives a Latin paraphrase of Geoffrey's *Historia*, in which Arthur is more exalted than in Geoffrey; Gautier (Gauchier) de Doullens (Denet, Dons, Dordans, Doudain) who continued Chrestien, Geoffrey of Monmouth; Geoffrei Gaimar; Godefroy de Laigny (Ligni), continuator of Chrestien; Gottfried of Viterbo; Gottfried von Strassburg; (or beginning of the thirteenth century), Hartmann von Aue; Hélie de Borron; Henry of Huntingdon; Layamon; Henry Lonelich; Luce de Gast (Gua, Gaut, Guesnes, Genes, Wat, Wad, Gat, Gal); Gautier Map; Marie de France; Robert, a monk, or Brother Robert; Robert de Borron; Robert of Gloucester; Thomas (French); Thomas (English); Ulrich von Zatzikhoven; Wace; William of Malmesbury; besides numerous anonymous productions.

R. H. Fletcher⁷ notes that Alanus de Insulis (1175) mentions the belief in the return of Arthur from Avalon. Villemarqué⁸

⁵ However, E. W. B. Nicholson, in *Academy*, 1895, 297ff., suggests, that the word "urse," in Gildas, is his translation of the name *Arthur*.

⁶ R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, especially those of Great Britain and France, Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, X, 1906, *passim*.

⁷ *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, X, 1906, 101.

⁸ *Romans*, etc., 25-27.

states that Gauthier Calenius, or Walter of Oxford,⁹ brought Tysilio's *Légende des rois*, early seventh century, from Armorica, and translated it into Cambrian. No evidence has come to the writer that his production is extant. Arnaldo Daniello is supposed to have written a Provençal *Lancelot*. Compositions are also referred to by the names Breri and Li Kievres. Fletcher¹⁰ gives a list of chroniclers who followed Geoffrey of Monmouth. In the cathedral at Modena is a relief representing a scene from 'Arthurian romance, the storming of a castle.¹¹

Anonymous versions are: the *Brut* of Munich, *Lai du cor*, a Welsh manuscript based on Gautier Map, *Lancelot*, *Perceval*, and *Tristan*, which is represented by a Bohemian version based on Eilhart von Oberge, a French metrical version attributed to Thomas, a Greek version, which, however, may belong to the following century, and an episode describing Tristan's disguise as a madman.

Thus the first written monuments are represented by the following titles: *Arthur*, *Brut*, *Cligès*, *Cor*, *Charette*, *Erec et Enide*, *Grail*, *Chevrefeuille*, *G(u)iron*, *Lancelôt*, *Historia Britonum*, in Latin and French, *Lanval*, *Meliadus*, *Merlin*, *Perceval*, *Round Table*, *Tristan*, and *Ivain* (*Iwein*). There were in all fifty-four versions,¹² eighteen titles, twenty-eight authors, including six chroniclers, and eight languages were represented. The distribution as to language is interesting. Of the versions mentioned, French has thirty, German, four, Latin,¹³ eleven, English, three, Welsh, Provençal (lost), Bohemian, and Greek each one. Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian do not yet appear, and only the district is represented which is nearest the place of origin of the legends, except in the case of Bohemia and Greece. The spread will be rapid in the next century.

In the thirteenth century we find the following names:¹⁴ Albrecht

⁹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, London-New York, 1885 ff., under Calenius.

¹⁰ *Harvard Studies*, etc., x, 1906, 171 ff.

¹¹ Foerster, *Zeitschrift f. romanischen Philologie*, XXII, 1898, 243 ff., 526 ff.

¹² By version is not meant here the number of manuscripts, but the various treatments of a subject, or the treatments in different languages.

¹³ Latin compositions should be ascribed to the countries in which they were written, but the data regarding these versions are not sufficiently available to warrant this being done with accuracy.

¹⁴ Names which appear in any century are not counted in the following, even if their productions continue into the following century.

von Scharfenberg, Biket, Hans Brant, Colin le Fruitier, Douglas of Glastonbury, Elias, Hauk Erlendsson, Konrad Fleck, Fulke Fitz-Warin, Gautier d'Aupais, Gautier de Cayx, Gerbert (de Montreuil), Robert Guichard, Guillaume de Rennes, Guillaume le Clerc, Guiot, Guiot de Provins, Heinrich von Freiburg, Heinrich von dem Türlin, Hutton d'Arcy, Jacob van Maerlant, Jehan, Manessier, Paien de Maisières, Philippe Mousket, Der Pleier, Raoul de Houdenc, Renaut, Renaut de Beaujeu, Richart d'Yrlande, Brother Robert, Rusticien de Pise, Sarrazin, Der Stricker, Ulrich von Türlin, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Wirnt von Gravenberg, besides a large number of anonymous writers. The name of King Haakon, although himself not a writer, is closely connected with French literature in this period. At his command Brother Robert translated the lays of Marie de France, the *Tristan* of Thomas, and, probably, the *Mantel mautailé* into Icelandic.

Besides the names properly belonging to this century the following are represented by manuscripts or rehandlings: Chrestien de Troyes, Eilhart von Oberg, Geoffrei Gaimar, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gottfried von Strassburg, Hartmann von Aue, Hélie de Borron, Layamon, Luce de Gast, Gautier Map, Marie de France, Robert de Borron, Wace.

The titles handled in this century were: *Arthur*, the main legend and two supplementary ones; *Atre périlleux*; *Brut*; *Claris et Laris*; *Cligès*; *Lai du cor*; *Chevalier au Cygne*; *Chronicles*; *Chevalier à l'épée*; *Chevalier à la robe vermeille* (?); *Chevalier as deus espées*; *Donnée des amants*; *Durmart*; *Erec*; *Fergus* (*Fregus*); *Febusso*; *Grail*, several versions; *Gologras and Galeron*; *Guiron*; *Garel von dem blühenden Tal*; *Giglain*; *Iwein*; *Jaufre*; *Joseph d'Armathie*; *Krone*; *Lancelot*; *Lais*; *Mantel*; *Merlin*; *Meliadus*; *Mele-ranz*; *Meraugis de Portlesgues*; *Perceval*; *Perlesvaus*; *Raguidel*; *Rigomer*; *Titurel*; *Tristan*, several versions; *Wigoleis*; *Wigamur*; *Yvain*.

There has been an enormous growth of production in this century, judging from the extant monuments. There are thirty-eight names, forty titles and one hundred and thirty-nine versions, divided among fourteen languages as follows: French, seventy-nine; German, twenty-two; Latin, eleven; Italian, six; Icelandic, five; Welsh,

four; English, three; Dutch and Provençal, each two, and Flemish, Greek (?), Portuguese, Spanish and Hebrew, each one.

The subject most frequently treated is *Tristan*, of which there exist thirteen anonymous versions, and nine the authorship of which is known; next is *Lancelot* with five anonymous and two identified, *Merlin*, five anonymous and three identified, *The Grail*, including *The Round Table* and *Joseph of Arimathia*, seven anonymous and three identified. Several of these belong also to the next century. Geoffrey of Monmouth's history continues through this century, and reappears in succeeding ones, but the interest in it must have been due to its historical material, rather than to any novelistic elements. From now on the corpus of Arthurian literature is in full vigor. Besides the principal subjects treated, incidental motives appear, at first, in some cases, entirely unconnected with Arthurian literature, except that they were Celtic in character, fabulous or mysterious, and thus, like the Arthurian stories proper, belong to the larger cycle, the Celtic or Breton. They were handled separately, or became amalgamated with the larger stories, and thus lost their independent character. On the other hand, an incident or personage was, here and there, lifted from a dependent position, and became the subject for separate treatment.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, not including the printed volumes, there is a decrease in the number of versions, and the names are slightly fewer in number than in the twelfth century, where there are twenty-eight, and in the thirteenth century, where thirty-eight have been reported. The number of anonymous works is still large. This falling off in interest was not limited to the Arthurian stories. It is well known that a feeling of weariness and staleness had come over the literary world, and, too, the constant rehandling of old material, and the resulting lack of invention were producing disastrous results. The prose redactions especially were loaded at this time with details of description, labored effort and repetition of kindred motives, and showed little or no originality. Paulin Paris, in his description of the manuscripts in the Royal Library,¹⁵ says of these, that they have fortunately been lost to a great degree. Surely, in reading them we feel little inspiration,

¹⁵ *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, etc., Paris, Techener, 1836-48, *passim*.

and our interest in them now lies almost solely in their historic position, or in the material they offer for treatment by later and more brilliant writers, and not in their own literary qualities.

The names belonging to the fourteenth century are: Thomas Chestre, Philipp Colin, Thomas Castleford, Guillem de Torella, Ranulf Higden, Hugh of Eghinton, John of Trevisa, Peter Langtoft, Lodewije van Velten, Robert Manning of Brunne, Penninc, Pedro de Barcellos, Rauf de Bo(h)un, Guillem Rexach, Robert of Thornton, Maistre Richart, Peter Vostaert, Claus Wisse, Zorzi, and one devout writer ascribed a version of the *Grail*, or *Joseph of Arimathia*, to the authorship of Christ. There is a larger proportion of anonymous versions in this century than in the one preceding. Fletcher¹⁶ has given the names of the Latin chroniclers of the century who followed Geoffroy of Monmouth.

Writers of previous centuries who are now represented are: Chrestien de Troyes, with the continuations of Manessier; Gautier de Douzens, and Gerbert; Eilhart von Oberg; Geoffrey of Monmouth; Gottfried von Strassburg; Hartmann von Aue; Heinrich von Freiburg; Heinrich von dem Türlin; Hélie de Borron; Jacob van Maerlant; Lodewije van Velthem; Luce de Gast; Gautier Map; Raoul de Houdenc; Robert de Borron; Rusticien de Pise; Wace; Wolfram von Eschenbach.

The number of writers known for this period is comparatively small, and the number of titles has decreased: *Arthur*, with several additional variants; *Donnée des amants*; *Brut*; *Febusso*; *Guiron*; *Grail*; *Gawayne*; *Iwein*; *Jaufre*; *Joseph*; *Lancelot*; *Lais*; *Lanval*; *Libeaus desconnus*; *Mantel*; *Meliadus*; *Morien (Lancelot)*; *Meriadoc*; *Merlin*; *Novelli antiche*, a collection containing several short poems on Tristan and Lancelot; *Perceval*; *Round Table*; *Titurel*; *Tristan*; *Wigoleis*.

Statistics for the fourteenth century are: nineteen names, twenty-four titles, one hundred and four versions, divided among fourteen languages as follows: French, thirty-eight; English, sixteen; Italian, thirteen; German, nine; Latin, eight; Spanish, seven; Portuguese, four; Flemish, three, and Bohemian, Provençal, Swedish, Welsh, and Dutch, each one. This century was less productive of authors, whose names are known, than the preceding one.

¹⁶ *Harvard Studies*, 1906, 175 ff.

In the fifteenth century there is only a slight advance in the number of names, but the titles have increased: twenty names, thirty-seven titles, with one hundred and three versions, divided among nine languages, as follows: English, thirty-two; French, twenty-six; German, sixteen; Italian, fourteen; Icelandic and Welsh, each four; Spanish, three; Latin and Portuguese, each two. This total of names does not include printers.

The authors and scribes for the century are: Aubret, Bourghier, Daniello di Ghery, Ludowicus Flügel, Ulrich FÜRTERER, Giovanni de' Cignardi, Gilles Gassien, Lonelich, Malory, Micheau Gonnet de Brouce, Robert of Thornton, Owen Jones, G. Papin, Rate, Segebert von Babenberg, Pierre Sala, E. Towler, Venetio, Jehan Wauquelin, Zuliano de Anzola, besides a number of anonymous productions, and the reproductions of printers whose names are not here given.

The new period entered with the last quarter of this century. In 1477 were printed the first books that interest us here: *Ist zweifel Herten nachgeburt*, etc., Augsburg, which treats of Perceval, and *Titurel*, by Wolfram von Eschenbach, also at Augsburg. These were followed, in 1480, by *Vita (Historia) di Merlino*, Venice, Luca Veneto (Veneziano), a translation of Robert de Borron, which was reprinted at Florence in 1485; *I Due primi libri della storia di Merlino*, also a translation, by Zorzi, from Robert de Borron, Florence, 1495; 1480, Caxton, *Chronicle of England*, translated from French *Brut*; 1481, *Livre de bataille*, Lyons; 1484, *Hienach folget die historie von herren Tristrant und der schön Isalden von Irlande*, etc., Augsburg, Antonio Sorg; also Augsburg, 1498, by Schönsperger, and the same date, *Volksbuch*, Augsburg; 1485, Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, translated from the French, and printed and divided into chapters by Caxton at London (Westminster); reprinted 1498 by Wynkyn de Worde; 1485, *Historia di Merlino*, Florence, same as Veneto, 1480; 1486, *Lanselet*, printed by Govert van Ghemen ter Goude, Holland (no place is mentioned); 1488, *Histoire du roy Arthur et des chevaliers de la Table ronde* (Gautier Map's), Rouen, also Paris; same date, *Prophécies de Merlin*, Paris, Anthoine Verard, and *Table ronde, autrement dit Lancelot du Lac, compile et extrait . . . des vraies hystoires . . . par Gaultier Map*, Rouen,

Jehan le Bourgeois; 1489, *Histoire*¹⁷ *du tres vaillant, nobles et excellent chevalier Tristan, fils du roi Meliadus* (Luce de Gast), Rouen, Jehan le Bourgeois, and Paris, Verard; 1496, the same, Paris, Verard, and Rouen, printer unknown; 1492, *Libro de battaglia de Tristano*, Cremona, Bernadinum de Misentis de Papia, a small poem of 130 stanzas; 1493, *Wigoleis vom Rade*, by Wirnt von Gravenberg, Augsburg, Schönsperger; 1494, *Faits et gestes du noble . . . Lancelot*, Paris, Verard; 1495, *Vita di Merlino*, Florence, also Venice; *Tristan*, Paris, Verard; 1498, *Histoire de la vie, miracles, enchantemens de Merlin* (Robert de Borron), Paris, Verard; *Booke of Kyng Arthur*, Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde; *Tristan*, Schönsperger, Augsburg; *Volksbuch*, Augsburg, containing a German prose rendering of Eilhart von Oberge's *Tristrant*; 1499, *El baladro del sabio Merlin con sus profecias*, Burgos, Juan de Burgos; Luce de Gast's *Tristan*, Paris, Verard; *Lancelot*, Paris. In all, there were twenty-seven printed versions, copies of which have been preserved.

Here the writer ventures to criticize the manner of referring to the early printed books. Scholars have an indiscriminate way of referring, for example, to the Rouen *Tristan*, of 1489, as the 1489 *Tristan*, or the Jehan *Tristan*, etc. Such careless practices cause endless confusion and waste of time to the student, besides giving occasion for error on the part of the bibliographer who has not personal access to the volumes indicated. The writer has in his possession three separate cards of one title and four of another, besides numerous ones in duplicate, the result of this careless habit. Upon examination, the volumes resolved themselves into the same version under the same title. A reasonable practice would be to indicate by author when known, giving place and date of publication; if the author is unknown, then the printer, with place and date. This would make for uniformity and accuracy.

The centers for publication were: England: London, Westminster (Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde); Germany: Augsburg (Hans

¹⁷ Löseth, *Les Romans en prose de Tristan*, etc. . . . Paris, Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1890, XXII, gives the title as: *Roman du noble Tristan* . . . etc., but a copy in the British Museum, London, and one in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, bear the title: *Histoire des vertueux faits du* . . . etc., and another copy in the Bibl. nat., and one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, have *Histoire du tres vaillant*, etc.

Schönsperger, Antonio Sorg) ; France: Rouen (Jehan le Bourgois), Paris (Antoine Verard, Jehan du Pre, Gaillard le Bourgois) ; Spain: Burgos (Juan de Burgos) ; Italy: Cremona (Bernadinum de Misentis de Papia, Cesare Parmensem), Venice (Luca Veneto or Veneziano), Florence. . . .

The titles of the fifteenth century are: *Arthur*, with supplementary versions; *Armes des chevaliers de la Table ronde*; *Arbre de bataille*; *Brut*; *Chronicles*; *Cavaliere del falso scudo*; *Cligès*; *Sir Corneus*; *Claris et Laris*; *Daniel von dem blühenden Tal*; *Guiron*; *Gawayne*; *Grail*; *Guinglain*; *Historia britonum*; *Iwein*; *Iarlles* (Welsh version of Chrestien's *Ivain*); *Joseph*; *Krone*; *Lancelot*; *Libeaus desconnus*; *Llyfr*; *Lanval*; *Mantel*; *Meliadus*; *Merlin*; *Vows of the companions of the Round Table*; *Papagau*; *Perceval*; *Peredur*; *Perceforest*, *Round Table*; *Titurel*; *Tristan*; *Tourneys of the companions of the Round Table*; *Wigoleis*; *Ysaye le triste*.

Writers of previous centuries who are represented are: Albrecht von Scharfenberg, Chrestien de Troyes, Eilhart von Oberge, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hartmann von Aue, Heinrich von Freiburg, Heinrich von dem Türlin, Hélie de Borron, Jacob van Maerlant, Luce de Gast, Gautier Map, Renaut de Beaujeu, Robert de Borron, Rusticien de Pise, Der Stricker, Wace, Wirnt von Gravenberg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Zorzi.

The sixteenth century was the gala time of Arthurian literature before the nineteenth century. There are thirty-five titles, twenty-nine names, and two hundred and twelve versions, now including editions, divided among eight languages, of which French has eighty-three, Italian forty-six, German thirty-two, English twenty-six, Spanish nineteen, Latin four, Icelandic and Portuguese each one. The increase in versions is accounted for by the large number of printed editions in which were reproduced, in some instances, older versions, frequently altered, and, in other cases, new versions or redactions. It is noticable that only one of the older incidental motifs appears in extant literature in this century, that of the "*Manteau mantaillé*", while, on the other hand, there are new compositions on Guinevere,¹⁵ Gundelbano, the Lady of Shalot, Sagra-

¹⁵ A tragi-comedy performed at Fontainebleu, 1564, which is lost.

mor, and descriptions of the arms, sports, and vows of the companions of the Round Table.

The predominance of prose over metrical versions is apparent. The introduction of printing was at once making its influence felt. The dissemination of literary monuments in permanent form was not, before this period, an easy matter, owing to the slowness of writing, the expense of the operation, and the cost of the material on which to transcribe, but the difficulties in the process of reproduction had now become notably lessened. Then, too, verse was giving way more regularly to the prose form, as the public was no longer so greatly dependent on the offices of the professional reader or reciter for its intellectual entertainment. This made possible the increasing interest in the longer tale to the prejudice of the shorter, detached episode, which was frequently semi-dependent in character. Some of those episodes had already become permanently incorporated in the longer narratives. Under the new conditions one would expect a rapid and extensive spread in the production of the novelistic literature of the Arthurian tradition. Such is the case, as is demonstrated by the large number of versions, two hundred and twelve, but the geographical limits are still restricted to western Europe, to France, England, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Norway, and Belgium, with one Spanish version, and Latin is still in evidence with four versions, plus five chronicles based on Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The places of publication were: France: Paris: Anthoine Verard,¹⁶ *Giron, Lancelot, Merlin, Tristan*; Michel le Noir, *Giron, Grail, Tristan, Merlin, Lancelot*; J. Badius Ascensius, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* in Latin; Philippe le Noir, *Merlin, Ysaye, Grail, Lancelot, Round Table*; Jehan (le) Petit,¹⁷ *Grail, Lancelot*; Galliot du Pré, *Grail, Ysaye, Perceforest, Meliadus*; Anthoine Houic, *Devise des armes*; Jehan Longis and Jehan Saint Denis, *Perceval*; Denis Janot, *Tristan, Meliadus*; Claude and Rinaldo Cal-

¹⁶ Among these names are included those of printers and dealers. It is frequently difficult to distinguish between them.

¹⁷ Jehan le Petit, Galliot du Pré, and Michel le Noir collaborated in printing, or selling, a *Grail*, and the names of Jehan le Petit and Michel le Noir appear together on the title-page of a *Lancelot*.

deria, *Girone* in Italian; Nicole (Nicolas) Bonfons, *Tristan, Arthur*; Veuve Maurice de la Porte, *Tristan*; Jehan Trepperel and Jehan Jehannot, *Merlin*; Gabriel Buon, *Tristan*; Nicolas Cousteau, "pour Galliot du Pré," *Perceforest*; and, no printer or dealer known, *Perceval* one, *Grail* two, *Tristan* two, *Perceforest* three, *Merlin* two, *Lancelot* one, *Meliadus* one; Rouen: Jehan and Richard Mace, associated with Michel Angier, of Caen, *Merlin*; Lyons: Claude Nourry, *Giglain*; Benoist Rigaud, *Tristan, Lancelot*; F. Didier, *Manteau*; Germany, Worms: Gregorius Hofman, *Tristan*; Frankfort: Weygand Han, *Tristan*; G. Rube and Weygand Han, *Wigoleis*; Thomas Rebart and Kilian Hahn, *Tristan*; Johan and Sigmund Feyerabendt, *Buch der Liebe*, with a prose rendering of Eilhart von Oberg's *Tristan*; Nicole Rost, *Tristan*, and an unsigned *Heldenbuch* containing *Tristan*; Strassburg: Jacob Fröhlich, *Tristan*; an unsigned *Tristan* and *Gawain*; Augsburg: J. Knoblauch, *Wigoleis*; Switzerland, Berne: a *Tristan*; Basel: P. Pernam, *Merlin*; England, London: Wynkyn de Worde, *Joseph, Merlin*; Richard Pinson (Pynsson), *Joseph*; John Herford, Leland's *Assertio*; Richard Grafton, *Arthur*; William Copland, *Arthur*; Thomas East, *Arthur*; John Wolf(e), Leland's *Assertio, Arms of the Companions of the Round Table*; R. Robinson, *Devises des armes*, Leland's *Assertio, Misfortunes of Arthur*; Edinburgh: John Pinkerton, *Gawain*; Walter Chapman (Chepman), *Golagros and Gawain*; Spain, Seville: Juan Cromberger, *Tristan*; Domenico de Robertis, *Tristan*; unsigned, a *Tristan, Merlin, Grail*, and *Perceval*; Toledo: Juan de Villaquiran, *Grail*; an unsigned *Tristan*; Valladolid: Juan de Burgos, *Tristan*; Barcelona: a *Gawain*; Belgium, Antwerp: Martin Nucio, a Spanish *Tristan*; Italy, Milan: Joanne da Castione, *Tristan*; an unsigned *Gawain*; Bologna: Benedetti, *Novelle antiche*, containing short poems on *Tristan* and *Lancelot*; Venice: Bartolomeo and Francesco suo genero, *Merlin*; Michele Tramessino (Tremezzino), *Perceforest, Tristan, Lancelot*; P. Niccolini, *Tristan*; i Guerra, *Lancelot*; Alexandro and Benedetto de Bindoni, *Tristan*; Vicentio (Vicentino) and Nicolo Zoppino, *Lancelot*; Venturino de Roffinelli, *Merlin*; Florence: Giunti, Borghini's *Libro di novelli*, containing *Tristan*.

A comparison of the first half and the second half of this cen-

tury shows a decrease in the number of productions: one hundred and seven to eighty-four, with twenty-one additional ones, the relative dates of which are not determined. The last quarter has only thirty-six, the other quarters having fifty-nine, forty-eight, and forty-eight respectively. French, with fifty and twenty-five, not including eight undated, and Spanish, with fourteen and five, are the only languages showing a decrease during the course of the period, while German, with ten and seventeen, not including five undated, English, with eleven and fifteen, and Italian, with eighteen and twenty, not including eight undated, present an increase, the others remaining stationary. This falling-off in French is significant, for interest in France will wane appreciably in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The names of authors and copyists belonging to the sixteenth century are: Nicolo Agostini, L. Alemanni, Vincenzo Borghini, Johan Bourghcher (Lord Berners), Philipe Camus, R. Copland, Christopher Crispin, Erasmo di Valvasone, Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, Fossa da Cremona, Enea Galetti, Gilles Gourmant, Carlo Gualteruzzi, John Harding, John Hawkins, Thomas Hughes, Juan de Villaquiran, John Leland, William Liely, Jean (Ian) Maugin, John Pinkerton, C. Platin, Pseudo-Shakespeare, Roderigo de Reinoso, Hans Sachs, Sala¹⁸ de Lyon, Spenser, Stowe, Timoneda, Warner.

The subjects treated are: *Arthur, Armes des chevaliers de la Table ronde, Chevalier au lion, Chronicles*, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Devise des armes, Erec, Fairy Queen, Gawain, Genevière, Giglain, Giron, Golagros and Gawain, Grail, Gundelbano, Jaufre* (son of Conde don Ason), *Joseph, Lady of Shalot, Lancelot, Lanval, Libeaus desconnus, Mantel mautailé, Meliadus, Merlin, Oliver and Arthur, Perceforest, Perceval, Round Table, Sagramor, Serments des chevaliers de la Table ronde, Tristan*,¹⁹ *Tournois des chevaliers de la Table ronde, Wigoleis, Ysaye le triste*.

¹⁸ This is not the same Sala who wrote a *Tristan et Lancelot* in the fifteenth century.

¹⁹ *Tristan* is treated in supplementary versions, in addition to the regular ones: *Innamoramento di Tristano, Qualità di Tristano, Lettera di Tristano, Death of Tristan*, and an Italian version of the incident of Tristan as fool.

Names of the previous centuries reappearing at this time are: Eilhart von Oberge, Ulrich Fûerterer, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hartmann von Aue, Heinrich von dem Tûrlin, Hélie de Borron, Luce de Gast, Malory, Robert de Borron, Robert of Gloucester, Rusticien de Pise, Sala de Lyon (?).

(To be continued.)

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TWO TRACES OF THE CYCLE OF GUILLAUME D'ORANGE IN THE OLD SPANISH ROMANCES*

IN his treatise on the old Spanish *romances*,¹ Sr. M. Menéndez y Pelayo calls attention to a few traces of the epic cycle of Guillaume d'Orange found among the *romances* of the Carolingian cycle. He mentions particularly *El Soldan de Babilonia y el Conde de Narbona*,² *El Almirante Guarinos*,³ and in *Valdovinos y el Marques de Mantua*, a vow similar to that of Guillaume in *Aliscans*.⁴ Two other fragments of the cycle of Guillaume, which seem not to have been ascribed to their probable sources, occur, one in *Valdovinos*,⁵ the other in a poem concerning Floripes and Gui de Borgoña, which forms one of a series of *romances* about Charlemagne and his followers.⁶

The first part of *Valdovinos*, which Menéndez y Pelayo considers the oldest part, relates a situation very similar to the famous scene of the death of Vivien. Danes Urgel, Marques de Mantua,⁷ while hunting, is separated from his followers and loses his way. In the heart of the forest he finds his nephew Valdovinos dying of wounds received through the treachery of Carloto, the son of Charlemagne. The servant of Valdovinos has been sent to find a confessor, and returns, while the marquis is speaking with his nephew, accompanied by a hermit, who administers the last rites to the dying man. After telling of the treachery of Carloto, Valdovinos expires in his uncle's arms. The latter places the body on his horse, and

*The author is indebted for valuable suggestions to Professor Raymond Weeks, Columbia University.

¹*Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, vols. XI, XII; *Tratado de los Romances Viejos*. Madrid, 1903 and 1906.

²*Antología*, vol. XII, p. 408.

³*Loc. cit.*, p. 374.

⁴*Loc. cit.*, p. 395.

⁵*Autores Españoles, Romancero General*, I, 355; also Wolf and Hofmann, *Primavera y Flor de Romances*, Berlin, 1856, vol. II, p. 174 ff.

⁶*Romancero General*, II, 1255, 1256.

⁷*son de Saisnes*, see *Antología*, vol. XII, p. 393 ff., and cf. Gautier, *Épopées*, II, p. 339, notes, with passages from other critics there mentioned.

takes it first to the chapel of the hermit, where the marquis makes a formal vow of vengeance; thence he continues his journey to "Mantua." The following passages give the main outline of the story:

Cuando llegó á un río,
En medio de un arenale
Vido un caballero muerto,
Comenzóle de mirare.
Armado estaba de guerra
A guisa de peleare;

.

Una voz sintió hablar:
—¡Oh Santa Maria Señora,
No me quieras olvidare!
¡A tí encomiendo mi alma,
Plégate de la guardare!
En este trago de muerte
Esfuerzo me quieras dare;
Pues á los tristes consuelas
Quiras á mí consolare,
Y al tu precioso Hijo
Por mí te plega rogare
Que perdone mis pecados,
Mi alma quiera salvar.

.

¡Oh noble marques de Mantua,
Mi señor tio carnale!
¿Dónde estás que no ois
Mi doloroso quejare?
¡Qué nueva tan dolorosa
Os será y de gran pesare
Cuando de mí no supierdes
Ni me pudierdes hallare!
Hecistesme heredero
Por vuestro Estado heredare,
¡Mas vos lo habréis de ser mio
Aunque sois de mas edad!

.

—¿Qué dices, amigo mio?
¿Traes con quien me confesare?

Que ya se me sale el alma;
 La vida quiero acabare:
 Del cuerpo no tengo pena,
 Que el alma querria salvar.

.
 Cuando aquesto oyó el Marques
 La habla perdido hae,
 En el suelo dió consigo,
 La espada fué arrojar,
 Las barbas de la su cara
 Empezólas de arrancare,
 Los sus cabellos muy canos
 Comiéndazalas de mesare.
 A cabo de una gran pieza
 En pié se fué á levantare;
 Allegóse al caballero
 Por las armas le quitar.

.
 En la boca lo besaba
 No cesando de llorare,
 Las palabras que decia
 Dolor es de las contare.
 —!Oh sobrino Valdovinos,
 Mi buen sobrino carnale!
 ?Quién os trató de esta suerte?
 ?Quién os trujo á tal lugare?
 ?Quién es el que á vos mató
 Que á mí vivo fué á dejare?
 !Mas valiera la mi muerte
 Que la vuestra en tal edade!
 ?No me conoceis, sobrino?
 !Por Dios queraisme hablar!

.
 A vos tenia por sobrino
 Para mi Estado heredar,
 Agora por mi ventura
 Yo vos habré de enterrar.
 Sobrino, de aquí adelante
 Yo no quiero vivir mase:
 Ven, muerte, cuando quisieres,
 No te quieras retardar;

.
Su escudero fué á llegare:
Un ermitaño traia
Que en el bosque fué á hallare,
Hombre de muy santa vida

.
Esforzando á Valdovinos
Comenzóle amonestare
Que olvidando aqueste mundo
De Dios se quiera acordare.

.
Confesóse Valdovinos
A toda su voluntad.
Estando en su confesion,
Ya que queria acabare,
Las angustias de la muerte
Comienzan de le aquejare:

.
Acuerdo van á tomare
Que se fuesen á la ermita,
Y el cuerpo allá lo llevare.
Pónenlo encima el caballo,
Nadie quiso cabalgare.
El hermitaño los guía,
Comienzan de caminar;
Llevan via de la ermita
Aprisa y no de vagare.
Desque allá hubieron llegado
Van el cuerpo desarmare.
Quince lanzadas tenia,
Cada una era mortale,
Que de la menor de todas
Ninguno podría escapare.

Cuando así lo vió el Marques
Trasasóse de pesare,
Y á cabo de una gran pieza
Un gran suspiro fué á dare.
Entró dentro en la capilla,
De rodillas se fué á hincare,
Puso la mano en un ara

Que estaba sobre el altare,
 Y en los piés de un crucifijo
 Jurando, empezó de hablare.
 —Juro por Dois poderoso,
 Por Santa María su Madre,
 Y al santo Sacramento
 Que aqui suelen celebrare,
 De nunca peinar mis canas,
 Ni las mis barbas cortar;
 De no vestir otras ropas,
 Ni renovar mi calzare;
 De no entrar en poblado,
 Ni las armas me quitare,
 Sino fuera una hora
 Para mi curpo limpiare;
 De no comer en manteles,
 Ni á mesa me asentare,
 Hasta matar á Carloto
 Por justicia ó pelear,
 O morir en la demanda
 Manteniendo la verdade:
 Y si justicia me niega
 Sobre esta tan gran maldade,
 De con mi Estado y persona
 Contra Francia guerreare,
 Y manteniendo la guerra
 Morir ó vencer sin pare.
 Y por este juramento
 Prometo de no enterrare
 El cuerpo de Valdovinos
 Hasta su muerte vengare.

Besides the similarity of the principal events, certain little touches recall familiar details of the French poem. Compare the description of the place where Valdovinos is found:

Cuando llegó á un rio,
 En medio de un arenale—

and

Vivien trove sur un estanc
 A la funteine dunt li duit sunt bruiant⁸

⁸ *Chanson de Willame*, 1987, 1988.

Also the formula that describes his mortal wounds:

Quince lanzadas tenia,
Cada una era mortale,
Que de la menor de todas
Ninguno podria escapare,

and in *Willame*, 1992, 1993:

Parmi le cors out quinze plaies granz
De la menur fust morz uns amirailz.

Compare the following details from the uncle's lamentation:

Cuando aquesto oyó el Marques
La habla perdido hae,
En el suelo dié consigo—
.

Ven, muerte, cuando quisieres,
No te quieras retardare

with the following lines of *Aliscans*:

Ne pot mot dire tant par fu adolés,⁹
.

Au duel k'i maine si chaï de Bauchant,
Encontre terre se vet sovant pasmant,¹⁰
.

Or vos ont mort Sarrasin et Persant.
Terre, car ouvre, si me va engloutant!¹¹

The most striking elements of the Vivien story, the broken vow, the lay communion, the glory of death in battle, the tragedy of defeat, are wanting, to be sure, in the Spanish version; but the points of similarity are not so commonplace that they can be attributed to chance. Valdovinos, like Vivien, holds in his uncle's affections the place of a son; like Vivien, he is found by his uncle alone beside a stream under the trees, dying of many wounds; both receive the last communion in the heart of the forest, under unusual

⁹ *Aliscans*, 692.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 720, 721.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 711, 712.

conditions. In each case the dying man sends loving messages, the one to his mother and his wife, the other to Guibourc; in each case also, the body is placed upon a horse to be taken away. In both cases, the body does not receive immediate burial. As to the chapel, a chapel is frequently associated with the resting place of Vivien.¹² It seems clear that this first *romance* of the Valdovinos series may well be a distant echo of the impressive episode of Vivien.¹³

The French poems, being much older and more primitive, are more simple, direct and crude, and, for that reason, more effective; but the Spanish poem is not lacking in these qualities, especially if we compare it with the other *romances* of the same series, which tell of the trial and execution of Carloto.

It is to be noted that, in the *romances* derived from the French epics, the imitation is never servile, and that in some cases the story is changed almost beyond recognition. Keeping in mind this freedom of treatment, the similarity between *Floripes y Gui de Borgoña* and the *Prise d'Orange* is perhaps more apparent than that of Valdovinos and Vivien.

In a battle between Christians and Moors, Oliver has wounded and defeated Fierabras, son of the "Almirante Balan." Fierabras is taken to the camp of Charlemagne, and is baptized. Oliver and four others are taken prisoners and confined in a tower. Floripes, the daughter of Balan, is in love with Gui de Borgoña, whom she has seen in a tourney. After killing the guard, who opposes her,

¹² The fullest statement of the circumstances of the burial of Vivien is to be found in an article by Raymond Weeks, in *Romania*, XXXIX, pp. 260-63, 266.

¹³ The Conde Viviano, mentioned as present in the portion of *Valdovinos* derived from *Ogier*, is qualified as: "de Agramonte," and is of course Vivien de Monbranc, son of Beuve d'Aigremont. The name Valdovinos is of course from the French Baudouinet. Fr. J. Wolf, in his *Primavera*, II, p. 217, note, drew attention to the fact that the Spanish *romances* confused Baudouinet, son of Ogier, with Baudouinet, brother of Roland. Cf. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 413, note 2. The possible influence of Vivien on *Valdovinos* merits a fuller examination than can be given it here. Is it, for example, an accidental coincidence that Naime is the grandfather of Vivien in the *Enfances Vivien*, and of Valdovinos in the Spanish *romance* (for this latter relationship, see p. 199, of volume II of Wolf)? . . . For the legend of Baldovino, son of Ogier, in Italy, vid. Pio Rajna: *Romania*, III, p. 31 ss. In the Franco-Italian version, Carloto slays Baldovino while they are hunting; cf. the Spanish *romance*.

she visits the prisoners in their dungeon to see whether Gui is among them. With the usual candor of the Saracen princess in such a story, Floripes announces that she will help the prisoners to escape if Gui will marry her. Oliver promises that he shall, and Floripes conceals the knights in her own apartments. In the meantime, Charemagne has sent Roland with six other knights to demand the surrender of Balan and the restitution of the five prisoners. As soon as they enter the town, they are recognized and disarmed. Floripes, upon hearing that Gui is among the new prisoners, tells Oliver of the event and arranges with him a plan of rescue. She asks her father to let her have charge of all the prisoners, saying that she wishes to torture them. Balan agrees, and she arms Roland and his companions as she has done the others. They sit down armed to dinner, and Floripes with them. Gui agrees to the marriage that Oliver has arranged for him, and the troth is pledged. A courtier discovers them at dinner, and is immediately killed by Naymes. After another interview with her father, Floripes gives the signal, and the prisoners rush from their hiding-place and kill all the Moors except Balan. The French knights fortify themselves in the tower, while Balan summons his men from the city; the tower is attacked, Gui is captured and freed again, and a messenger is sent to Charlemagne, who arrives with an army just in time to save his knights. Balan is taken and put to death, Floripes is baptized, and marries Gui.

In the *Prise d'Orange*, there are not so many prisoners, but they are recaptured a number of times. Orable, like Floripes, asks for the prisoners, but her request is refused. Guillaume dramatically defies Arragon, as Roland defies Balan, the hero in each case being a prisoner and unarmed. In both poems the captured knights dine with the Saracen princess, and are supplied by her with the necessary armor. In both, a messenger is sent for help, and the poem ends with the death of the pagan leader, the capture of his city by a christian army, and the baptism and marriage of the princess.

Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo explains the presence of these traces of the Guillaume cycle in the *romances*, by the fact that this cycle is "meridional por la patria de sus héroes y por el teatro de sus hazañas," and finds it quite natural that this epic should have left its mark, "tratándose de una poesía tan vecina, y que alguna

vez, como en el *Sitio de Barbastro*, había tratado asuntos de nuestra propia historia."¹⁴ The surprising part is rather that the traces of this great "neighboring" cycle should be so few and so faint. The names of its leading characters appear to be unknown, and their deeds, when not entirely forgotten, are attributed to others.

As given in the *Romancero General*, the text of *Valdovinos* is of the sixteenth century, and that of *Floripes* of the beginning of the nineteenth.¹⁵ These dates alone account sufficiently for the many changes the stories have undergone, but not the complete loss of the cycle to which they belong and their transference to another. Why did the "southern" epic, whose action is often laid in Spain, disappear, and the northern epic survive? A partial explanation is offered by the influence of the church, which supported the Carolingian epic by the legends of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Compostela and his grant to the church of Sant Iago of the primacy of Spain;¹⁶ but this influence alone, though powerful, seems hardly sufficient to account for the different fate of the two cycles.

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¹⁴ *Antología*, XII, 410.

¹⁵ *Romancero General*, I, pp. lxvii and lxxxvii.

¹⁶ *Antología*, XI, p. 189.

THE OPENING DIABLERIE OF THE UNPUBLISHED
MYSTÈRE DE SAINT MARTIN (Bib. Nat., ms. fr.
24332), BY ANDRIEU DE LA VIGNE.¹

THE fact that great pleasure was experienced by most of the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in evolving strange poetic combinations, appears clearly in even a cursory reading of the lyric collections of the period. Complicated and bizarre as some of these collections seem, none have surpassed in intricacy the peculiar inventions of Andrieu de la Vigne. The words of M. Anatole de Montaiglon, in his introduction to the poet's *Complaintes et Epitaphes du Roy de la Basoche*,² may be well quoted in this connection.

L'auteur a fait l'amoncellement le plus prodigieux de mots baroques et incompréhensibles, de vers équivoqués et batelés, de strophes commençant par les quatre bouts, etc. Il a réuni à plaisir toutes les difficultés que nous font admirer les anciens Arts de rhétorique; mais ces tours de force n'ont été possibles qu'aux dépens du bon sens, . . . c'est André de la Vigne, qui a poussé plus loin qu'aucun poète de son temps l'amour de la bizarrerie.

The critics of the eighteenth century hold the same attitude towards his poetic eccentricities, and have a similar estimate of the literary value of his productions. M. l'Abbé Goujet, referring to the large collection of poems printed at the end of the *Vergier d'honneur* of Andrieu de la Vigne, says:³

¹ Andrieu de la Vigne, a native of La Rochelle, was born about 1468. During his youth, he is supposed to have been secretary to Octavien de Saint Gelais, Bishop of Angoulême. Later, he held the same position in the household of the Duke of Savoy, from whose service he entered into that of the queen, Anne de Bretagne. During the years 1494-1495, he accompanied the French army in its expedition to Italy, as poet to the king, Charles VIII, with the official title of "Facteur du Roi." He appears again, in 1496, at Seurre in Burgundy, as author and manager of the *Mystère de Saint Martin*, which was played by the citizens of that town. Little is known of his life after this date, but from a study of his later productions, and from brief mention of him in contemporary literature, one may judge that his death occurred shortly before 1527.

² *Recueil de Poésies Françaises*, Paris, 1878, XIII, p. 384.

³ *Bibliothèque Française*, Paris, 1745, X, p. 290.

En général, il n'y a pas vingt de ces pièces qu'on puisse lire avec quelque satisfaction, tant le style en est dur, grossier, et rempli d'expressions bizarres, de mots inventés ou tirés du latin; tant on y trouve de jeu de mots fades et insipides, de fréquentes répétitions des mêmes tours, des mêmes pensées et des mêmes façons de parler.

He quotes the following mediocre triolet as one of the prettiest of this collection:

De trop aymer c'est grant folie;
Je le sçay bien quant à ma part,
Quelque chose que l'on m'en die
De trop aymer c'est grant folie;
A la parfin on en mendie
Qui n'en fait bientost le départ;
De trop aymer c'est grant folie,
Je le sçay bien quant à ma part.

The justice of these criticisms is apparent from a study of the "diablerie" which is given later in this article, or better still, perhaps, from a consideration of the following passage taken from among many similar ones in the *Complaintes et Epitaphes du Roy de la Bazoche*:⁴

Parverse, adverse qui, trop diverse, verce
Lyesse et ce que tu renverse vexe,
D'appresse presse, la cicatrice tisse,
De quelque part que ta finesse naisse,
D'anesse n'esse, car tu delaisse lesse
D'expresse presse et d'infelice lice;
L'indice disse, s'en ton divice vice,
Service veisse, mais ta malice lisse
D'une office ysse, qui est mortelle, telle
Qu'au genre humain ta force est immortelle,
Lente, lasche, lourde, louche, lubrique, etc.

Such a poet should, truly, be at his best in writing a diablerie. In fact, if we consider the general function of the diablerie in a mystery, its dramatic "raison d'être," we are forced to admit that, in this present case, the author has succeeded well in producing the effect desired from such a composition. This strange jargon of

⁴ *La Bazoche contre la Mort*, lines 61-71.

mythological terms, of slang, of meaningless expressions, with its monotonous rhythm and explosive rime, produces a striking and weird effect which is well adapted to the demands of this type of medieval drama.

While we may thus grant a certain degree of success to the opening diablerie, nothing can be said in favor of the others, four in number, scattered thruout the *Mystery*. They contain the ordinary commonplaces, with the exception of two short speeches,⁵ in "rime senée," which are worse than commonplace, but whose counterpart we meet, frequently, in the productions of the other writers of the time, including Marot himself.

The great fault of de la Vigne, in common with his contemporaries, is too great productivity, with consequent carelessness of thought and style. Called to Seurre by the citizens of that town in the spring of 1496, he completed the entire *Mystère de Saint Martin* in the short space of five weeks, if we are to credit his own statement in the *procès-verbal* of the piece. As the *Mystery* contains 10682 lines,⁶ this task was no light one, even for the man who had just completed the immense *Vergier d'honneur*.

In spite of this haste the *Mystery* was well received, and was performed not only at Seurre but probably also at Tours, where the well known preacher, Michel Menot, uses it as the text of a peculiar sermon, couched partly in Latin and partly in French.⁷

The entire description of the preparations for the play as well as its presentation, is set forth in eloquent terms by de la Vigne himself, in the *procès-verbal* of the *Mystery*. This preface has

⁵ These two selections are printed at the end of the present article.

⁶ The following statement, which credits the *Mystère de Saint Martin* with 20,000 lines, must be due to some misapprehension: H. Suchier und A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur*, Leipzig und Wien, 1900, p. 284: "Von dem Dichter, Andrieu de la Vigne, der das Leben des heiligen Martin dramatisierte (es wurde 1496 zu Seurre gespielt), wissen wir, dass er seine 20,000 Verse in fünf Wochen niedergeschrieben hat. Wenn er in ziemlich gleichmässigen Tempo gearbeitet hat (und wer das Stück gelesen hat, muss eine solche Arbeitsweise sogar für wahrscheinlich halten) muss er täglich gegen 600 Verse fabriziert haben." Even if we include the two pieces, *La Moralité de l'Aveugle et du Boiteux* and *La Farce du Munyer*, both of which are found in the same manuscript with the *Mystery*, the total number of lines does not approach the figure named.

⁷ *Menoti Sermones ab ipso Turonis declamati*, Paris, 1525.

been reproduced too frequently to need comment here, except the passage relating to the tragi-comic accident which happened to the player, in the rôle of Satan, while in the act of emerging from his "secret," during the performance of the diablerie. The author describes this happening, with its results, as follows.

Puis après commença à parler Luciffer, pendant lequel parlement celui qui jouoit le personnage de Sathan, ainsi qu'il vult sortir de son secret par dessoubz terre, le feu se prist à son habit autour des fesses, tellement qu'il fut fort bruslé, mais il fut si soubdaynement secouru, dévestu et rabillé, que sans faire semblant de rien, vint jouer son personnage; puis se retira en sa maison. De ceste chose furent moult fort espoventez les dits joueurs; car ils pensoient que puisque au commencement incontinent les assailloit que la fin s'en ensuivroit."

With the aid of Saint Martin, however, the players continued their rôles:

En abolissant la cremeur^s devant dicte, les dits joueurs prindrent une telle hardiesse et audace en eulx qu'onques lyon en sa tainyère ne meurtrier en un boys ne furent jamais plus fiers, ne mieulx assurez qu'ils estoient quant ilz jouoient.

The actor, playing the rôle of Satan, reappears on the scene in the afternoon, seemingly none the worse for his mishap. His danger, truly, seems not to have sobered his language, for he presents his excuses to Lucifer in the following speech, the coarseness of which might occasion some surprise did we not know that the indecent *Farce du Munyer* had been received the day before with much applause by the same audience:

Malle mort te puisse avorter,
Paillart, fils de putain cognu,
Pour à mal faire t'en orter,
Je me suis tout brûlé le cul.

Thus began the performance of the *Mystère de Saint Martin*, which, triumphing over the evil auspices, was played to the end successfully, or, in the words of the author, "tryumphaument, aul-

^sM. Edouard Fournier (*Le Théâtre Français avant la Renaissance*, Paris, 1872, p. 174) explains this word "cremeur" as "brûlure" (crematio). The word means rather "crainte," from the Latin "tremorem."

tentiquement, et magnifiquement, sans faulte quelle qu'elle fust au monde."

The diablerie, which forms the basis of this article, consists, mainly, of two ballades of the type of the "chant royal," altho the second alone is given this title by the poet. Each ballade is made up of three stanzas of twelve decasyllabic lines, arranged according to the formula (aab aab bbc bbc), and with an envoi of six lines (aab aab). The first ballade, *Ballade de sa Puissance Infernale*, is recited entirely by Lucifer; the second, *Ballade de Champ Royal finissant toute par C*, is given by Satan, Burgibus, and Berith.

[DIABLERIE]

PERSONNAGES⁹

Luciffer	Amye Oudot
Sathan	Symphorien Poincenot
Burgibus	Pierre Belleville
Proserpine	Messire Ponsot
Astaroth	Jehan Bonfils
Agrapart	(—————)
Bérith	Robert Tordis

Icy se commence a monstrier Luciffer, faisant cris et hurlemens orribles, et de tous les aultres deables n'en doit on voir nully, car ilz seront soubz terre pour sortir es secretz¹⁰ ad ce ordonnez, quant il en sera temps. Luciffer dit ceste presente ballade et le couplet ensuivant ains que les aultres deables se monstrent.

BALLADE DE SA PUISSANCE INFERNALLE.

'Au zodiaque du tenebreux Pluto,
Et Megera, Theziphon,¹¹ Aletho,¹²
Seurs furiennes, mon pouvoir se provoque;
Au fluvieux, caronny¹³ Flegeto,¹⁴

⁹ The list of "personnages" for the entire *Mystery* is given by M. Achille Jubinal, in his *Mystères Inédits du Quinzième Siècle*, Paris, 1837, II, p. ix.

¹⁰ M. Petit de Julleville, in *Les Mystères*, II, p. 539, gives the reading "et seront" instead of "es secretz." His interpretation is not justified by the MS.

¹¹ *Complaintes et Epitaphes*, line 55; "theziphonic alabre."

¹² Alecto.

¹³ De Charon.

¹⁴ Phlégéthon.

- 5 Ignifferant, et le vil Cochito,¹⁵
 Lymbes obscures, point je ne reciproque;
 La, Cerberus vipereux, mes crins croque,
 Le navigateur Charon aussi m'estoque,
 Dessoubz Lethes, lac dampnable, eternel;
- 10 Puis vient Mynos, qui a ses jours m'ynvoque,
 Et Zurburbus, sur ce point me convoque,
 Prince Infernal, Deable Sempiternel.
 En la penthere de mon dur memento,
 Le chicaneur clergault, Radamento,
- 15 Par sathalites herbereux, trop m'estoque,
 Puis Exion,¹⁶ au paludin trito,¹⁷
 Sa roe ardant pres du gouffre stito;¹⁸
 Les Tartarins¹⁹ fault que sonnant je choque
 Au mont Gargare, de verberable broque,
- 20 Et soubz Ismare par despit les coloque,
 Leur dentotant mon pouvoir supernel;
 La Cornualle, Luciabelle tocque,
 Porte sur tous, car je suis en ce stoque
 Prince Infernal, Deable Sempiternel.
- 25 Soubz les ostilles du tribulant Nepto,
 Les ydriades,²⁰ avec Polupeto,
 Brouer mes sors,²¹ font a la nyque noque;
 Je patibulle²² le gueux Elupisto
 Aux rouges fourches du noir Dyaletto,
- 30 Par Eacus, qui en ce ne se mocque;
 Le bocnouyste, chanu, decrepit roque,
 Durdrilupus, me fait enterner loque
 Avec Gritis, mon affin²³ fraternel;
 Puis Achiron²⁴ mon estat fanfreloque,

¹⁵ Le Cocyte.¹⁶ Ixion.¹⁷ Au marais de Triton.¹⁸ Du Styx.¹⁹ *Compl. et Epit.*, line 59, "tartarin flabre."²⁰ Hydryades.²¹ Préparer (brasser) le destin.²² Pendre.²³ Allié.²⁴ *Compl. et Epit.*, line 58; "acheronic mabre."

- 35 Car en ce crot,²⁵ sans per, on me revoque,
Prince Infernal, Deable Sempiternel.

PRINCE.

- Orgueil, Envie, contre Avarice bloque,
Ire, Paresse, a Luxure je troque,
De Glotonnye suis le chief paternel,
40 Du Createur ne donne une freloque,
Pour ce, que suis au pulillant tristoque
Prince Infernal, Deable Sempiternel.

Il crit et se tempeste et ne disent encore mot les aultres deables.

- Ou estes vous, traistres, villains, mastins?
Que faictes vous, detestables mutins?
45 Quoy! dormez vous maintenant? quesse cy?
Deables d'enffer, lous garoux et lutins,
Corps fantastiques, fors esprits, serpentina,
De par le Deable, venez tretous icy;
Avancez vous, car j'ay le cueur transsi
50 Et tout le corps de grant despit noiricy;
Sortez dehors, que la malle tempeste,
La malle rage et malle mort aussi,
Villaynement, ains que partez d'icy,
Vous puisse a tous fouldroyer, corps et teste!

Icy sortent les deables de leurs secretz, l'un cy, l'autre la, avecques feu et foudre orrible, crians et braillans comme il appartient.²⁶

**S'ENSUITE UNE BALLADE DE CHAMP ROYAL FINISSANT
TOUTE PAR "C."**

SATHAN.

- 55 Prodigue infect, portant d'enfer le froc,
Corps invoqué, de tous venins le broc,
Que te fault il, lupardin²⁷ apostac,
Puis infernal, dampné, gouffrineux roc?
Deable d'enfer, que vault ton villain croc,

²⁵ Creux.

²⁶ It is at this point in the performance that the accident, described in the *procès-verbal*, happened to the actor who was playing the rôle of Satan.

²⁷ De léopard.

- 60 Quant ton parler ne prisons ung patac?²⁸
 Tu va, hurlant, cryant patie patac;
 Que malle bosse, malle poisons, maultac²⁹
 Et malle grayne, te puisse prandre au bric!³⁰
 Ort, vil, villain, puant coquodrilac,³¹
- 65 Loup ravissant, pour lequel je dys gnac,
 Que te fault il, paillart, puant aspic?
 La malle mort, soit de taille ou d'estoc,³²
 Te puisse, brief, serrer le palletoc,
 Briqueboiller et broiller en ung lac!
- 70 Le feu d'enfer te presente le choc
 Pour te brusler, soit en tache ou en bloc,
 Et boursouffler au charonnyeux bac,
 Ou t'emporter, soit d'aboc ou d'abac,³³
 Au paludin sulphureux Bulcibac!³⁴
- 75 Desesperé, superbe porc espic,
 Sot, plus, douteux que bosse ny entrac,
 Je viens le cours vers toy, faisant tric trac,
 Que te fault il, paillart, puant aspic?

BURGIBUS.

- Gresle, tempeste, en faisant tic tac toc,
- 80 Te puisse prandre, d'abac aussi d'aboc!
 Prince, portant de tous tourmens le sac,
 Orrible monstre, loubineux sennedoc,³⁵
 Dragon pugnais, ort, bazelique coc,
 Pour quoy bray tu? j'apporte mon bissac;
- 85 Vecy Berith, le seigneur de Boussac,
 Et Astaroth, qui va disant sic sac,
 Courans, brouans, plustost qu'on ne dit pic,
 Soubz ton obscur, tremebundeux³⁶ tillac,
 'Affin qu'enfer ne s'en voise abasac,³⁷
- 90 Que te fault il, paillart, puant aspic?

²⁸ Petite monnaie.²⁹ Maladie éruptive.³⁰ Piège.³¹ *Compl. et Epit.*, line 53; "cocodrille."³² A tort et à travers.³³ *Compl. et Epit.*, line 74; "Praticiens, Soit d'aboc ou d'abac."³⁴ Belzébuth.³⁵ Personne sénile.³⁶ Tremblant.³⁷ A bas + ac.

BERITH.

- Prince dampné, scrupuleux coac,
 Germe maudit, corps d'infernal eschac,
 Insaciable cornu, tigre estopic,
 Bec jaulne infect, temeraire ypodrac,⁸⁸
 95 Fol enraigé, qu'as tu mengé, poac poac?
 Que te fault il, paillart, puant aspic?

LUCIFFER.

- Qu'il me fault quoy, ruffiens miserables?
 Je seuffre trop de maulx intollerables
 De voir aller notre enffer en decours;
 100 Pour ce, paillars, putiers abhominables,
 Espris volans, deablesses et grans deables,
 Sortez dehors, ou voz jours seront cours,
 Et si brouez trop plustost que le cours
 Par tout le monde, en villes et en cours,
 105 En monasteres et en religions,
 Puis qu'a vous maintenant je recours,
 Admenez moy, pour me donner secours,
 De toutes ames cent mille legions.

SATHAN.

- Pour en avoir deux ou troys millions,
 110 Ains que soit nuyt, nous nous humylions
 Au grant conseil que present nous envoie,
 Et pour monstrier noz grans rebellions,
 Comme affamez et enraigez lyons,
 114 Sans plus de plait, nous nous mectons en voye.

Pause de tourmens, de cris et (et) hurlemens terribles en enffer; puis jouent tronpetes et clérons. 'Après ladicte pause, se partira de son eschaffault, le pere saint Martin, la mere saint Martin, avec leurs escuyers et demoiselles, et s'en viendront sur le parc, faisant leur tour comme il appartient.

The two examples of "rime senée," which are given below, are found, respectively, in the third and fourth diableries of the *Mystery*.

⁸⁸ Podagre.

Folio 114, verso:

SATHAN.

Roy rigoureux, racyne ruyneuse,
 Roche restive, rodelle rumyneuse,
 Rouge ribault, reprouvable rogneuse,
 Rogue rougeux, riche ronce, raffleuse,
 Ravissant ris, rural retatynart,
 Reprehenssible, renfrongné regrongnart,
 Raby rebelle, redoubtable regnart,
 Rustic, regnant, rampant, rafflant, rifflant,
 Radis, rayee, roc, robuste roillart,
 Regent, retrou, ront, rapineux rocart,
 A quoy, grant deable, vas tu ainsi ronfflant?

Folio 124, verso:

LUCIFFER.

Puant, púgnais, porc prejudiciable,
 Poilleux, pensu, putier, pasteur, paillart,
 Parvers poiltron, paludin penetrable,
 Paralletique, puissant prince, pillart,
 Persecuteur parjuré, papellart,
 Patron perdu, perilleux, préparé,
 Palle pelle, pousif, pourry pendart,
 Par tous les deables soit ton corps desvoré!

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A BRIEF STUDY OF THE PHONOLOGY OF THE NEAPOLITAN DIALECT

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE following study concerns itself with the dialect of the city of Naples and, more particularly, with that of the *Sezione di Chiaja*. Some of the outlying districts, *e. g.*, *Campo di Marte*, already show some slight variations from the language studied herein.

The sources of this study have been both oral and written. The writer first took lessons in conversation, at the same time studying texts, and then, after he had acquired some fluency in the spoken language, he went among the people to verify the results and the conclusions which he had obtained. In addition to this, he profited much from aid given him by others who had made a special study of the dialect. Among these he wishes to thank particularly Signor Alberto Cerbino, actor on the Neapolitan stage and author of several Neapolitan comedies, and Signori Bideri and Izzo, well-known publishers of *Canzonette Napoletane*.

Among the written sources may be mentioned *G. Papanti, I Parlari Italiani in Certaldo, Livorno, 1875*; *F. Wentrup, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Neapolitanischen Mundart, Wittenberg, 1855*; *Raffaele Andreoli, Vocabolario Napoletano-Italiano, Torino, 1877*; *Ferdinando di Domenico, Vocabolario Metodico, Filologico, Comparato del Dialecto Napoletano &c., Napoli, 1905*; *A Scarpa Stretta, A Critica Jurnata r'un Farmacista, Ridazioni di Alberto Cerbino*, and a large collection of popular songs and dialogues edited and published by *Bideri and Izzo*.

Among more general works on Italian dialects are Ascoli's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1880, and in the *Archivio Glottologico*, VIII, 98-128, 1882-5, and the articles in *Grober's Grundriss*, Vol. I (first and second editions).

ACCENT

Neapolitan differs from the Tuscan in its system of accentuation for, while the Tuscan uses the stress accent common to other

European languages, the Neapolitan has preserved the quantitative accent of the Latin.

There is perhaps no more fundamental determinant in the development of a language than its accent. The development of every sound in a language is directly dependent upon the force expended in pronouncing it and the time employed in doing so. Generally speaking, when no strong stress is used the flow of language will be softer and more even, the explosion of consonants will have less force and their development will be less dependent upon their position, since in initial position they will have no more force than when medial and will therefore undergo approximately the same changes. Only slight stress being used, aspirates tend to disappear and voiceless consonants, losing their force, become weaker than the voiced; therefore a consonant is on its way to disappearance when from voiced it becomes voiceless. The quantity of a syllable will seldom be shortened since, if the vowel for any reason loses its length, the consonant immediately following is doubled in compensation. Syncope is less frequent, inasmuch as, there being no strongly-stressed syllables, the unstressed syllables are less slighted. These rules all apply to Neapolitan.

Note 1.—In Central Italy there are two remnants of the quantitative accent: (A) the retention of the double consonants, which tend to disappear under a strong stress accent and which have disappeared almost entirely in Northern Italy. (B) The distinct pronunciation of unaccented syllables which are more or less slighted in the North.

Note 2.—As Neapolitan has remained so similar to its mother language there are many words whose development has been checked or altered by the consciousness of the Latin form. Such words may be called *patrician* as they occur especially in the vocabulary of the educated, while the other words which have undergone a thoroughly popular development may be called *plebeian*. These terms are not to be confused with the terms "learned," "semi-learned" and "popular." For examples of *patrician* and *plebeian* words see below under initial pretonic A, E; initial FL, PL, etc.

PRETONIC VOWELS. (Vulgar Latin)¹

Initial

Initial pretonic vowels tend to disappear. This is because in Neapolitan the final vowels are usually kept, although somewhat slighted, and the resultant hiatus in connected discourse has led to a weakening and final disappearance of the initial vowel. A and U seem to have resisted this tendency to fall much better than other vowels.

Pretonic Initial A

Pretonic initial A usually remains. AMMORE.

It falls in NATOMÌA (anatomia); STRÒLACO (astròlogus); STROLÀBIO (astrolabium).

Sometimes other pretonic vowels are changed to A. ASTREMO (extremus); ASÈMPIO (exemplum); ADDIÒTA (idiota); ANCHIRE (implere); ACCIDERE (occidere); ACCASIONE (occasionem); ASSUR-PARE (usurpare).

Sometimes two forms exist side by side. ATERNITÀ, ETERNITÀ; ACCELLENTE, ECCELLENTE; ACCHIALE, ACCHIARE, UCCHIALE; ACCASIONE, UCCASIONE. The forms in A are probably plebeian while those which retain the general character of the Latin vowel are patrician.

Sometimes A becomes initial by the disappearance of an initial consonant (usually G). ALLINA (gallina); ALLO (gallus); ÀMMARO (gamberus). The forms GALLINA, GALLO, GÀMMARO are however coexistent.

Compounds with A + a consonant (from Lat. AD-) are common. ADDÒ,² dove; ABBADARE, badare; ABBASTANTE, bastante; ACCANOSCERE, conoscere; AMMANCARE, mancare; ANNASCUOSTO ANNASCUSO, di nascosto.

Pretonic Initial E

Pretonic initial E is usually lost. Sometimes there are two existing forms, showing plebeian and patrician development. TICHETTA, ETICCHETTA; VANGELO, EVANGELO.

¹ Wentrup starts with Classic Latin vowels and does not mention their Vulgar Latin forms.

² Equivalents not in parentheses are Tuscan.

It remains in words which were used only among the higher classes of society. ECÒNUMO; ELEVAZIONE; EMBREMA; EQUIPAGGIO; ERUZIONE.

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

Pretonic Initial I

Pretonic initial I generally falls except in words used in the higher classes of society. Sometimes two forms are coexistent. IMPIEGO, MPIEGO; INCANTO, NCANTO; INTRATA, NTRATA.

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

Pretonic Initial O

Pretonic initial O usually becomes U. UBBERIENZA, ubbidienza; UBBRICAZIONE, obbligazione; UCCHIATA, occhiata; UNESTÀ, onestà; UFFRIRE, offrire.

It sometimes falls. NORE, onore; PENEIÒNE (opinionem); RAZZEIÒNE (orationem).

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

Pretonic Initial U

Pretonic initial U usually remains. UMORE.

It sometimes falls NEVERZALE (universalem); NU (unum).

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

PRETONIC VOWELS NON-INITIAL

A

Pretonic A non-initial remains.

CAPPIELLO, cappello; CAPILLO, capello; GALANTE.

E

Pretonic E non-initial remains.

DECISIONE; LENTEZA; NEPOTE.

In hiatus it becomes I.

CRIARE (creare); CRIANZA.

I

Pretonic I non-initial generally remains.

FIDARE; FIDUCIA; FINEZA.

Classic Latin short I (Vulgar Latin E) gives E.³

TENTORE; DEFFECORTÀ, difficoltà; LETECARE, litigare.

O

Pretonic O non-initial generally becomes U.

CUNTARE; CUNSUMO; CUNSIDERARE; FUNTANA.

U

Pretonic U non-initial remains.

SUPINA; SUPEROIRE; MURAGLIA.

TONIC VOWELS

A

Tonic A remains.

PATE, padre; SARVÀ, salvare; MMACULATA, immacolata.

E (open)

Tonic open E generally remains unless there is in the Latin source an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it diphthongizes to IE.⁴

Examples of the persistence of tonic open E.

GALLENELLA; FRAVULELLA, fragoletta.

Examples of the diphthongization of tonic open E.

GALLENIELLO; FRUSCIAMIENTO; FRATIELLO; APIERTO; CIERTO.

In hiatus tonic open E becomes I as in Tuscan.

E (close)

Tonic close E remains unless there is an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it becomes I.⁵

³ Wentrup fails to distinguish between Classic Latin long *I* and short *I*.

⁴ Wentrup attempts to distinguish between *e* in position and *e* final in the syllable. His result is that checked *e* usually diphthongizes while free *e* may or may not! In the speech of the educated or semi-educated these vowel changes are often interfered with by the consciousness of related forms, and we find but few printed texts which are reliable in this respect.

⁵ Wentrup simply says "Long *e* remains or changes to *i*."

NIRO, NERA; CHISTO, CHESTA, CHISTE (m. pl.), CHESTE (f. pl.); PIRO, pero; MILO, melo.

I

Tonic I remains. FINE; FILO; FILA; GIRO; LINO.

O (open)

Tonic open O remains unless there is an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it becomes UO.⁶ NUOVO, NOVA; PUORTO, PORTA; BUONO, BONA; UOVO, OVA; UOSSO, OSSA.

In hiatus it becomes U. PUETA.

O (close)

Tonic close O remains unless there is an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it becomes U.⁷ NNUSTRIUSO, NNUSTRIOSIA, industriale, —a; NFUMUSO, NFUMOSA, collerico, —a; NFAMONE (infamonem).

TESTEMONIO is probably patrician.

In hiatus with I resultant from S final in accented syllables it forms the combination UJE. NUJE; VUJE.

In hiatus with U it forms the combination UJO, and with A it forms OJA. SUJO, SOJA.

U

Tonic U remains. UNNECE (undecem); STUFA.

POST-TONIC VOWELS

Non Final

Post-tonic non-final A, E, I tend to become E unless followed by R, under which condition the tendency is towards A.

SÀBBETO, SÀPETO, sabato; ÈLECA; ÒRGHENO (in URGANISTA the A is pretonic); MMÀGENE; ÒRDENE; ÛRDEMO, ultimo; GIÒVENE; ÈLLARA.

⁶ Wentrup tries to distinguish between *o* in position and *o* final in the syllable with the same results which he obtained in discussing *e*, i. e., free *o* > *uo* or remains, while checked *o* > *uo*! Some of the forms which he has cited are obviously tainted by analogy, e. g., *bono*, *m*, is scarcely popular and is influenced either by the Latin form or the feminine or both.

⁷ Wentrup simply states that long *o* remains or becomes *u*.

Post-tonic non-final O or U becomes U. URÀCULO; UÒVULO; MIRÀCULO.

Final

Final unaccented vowels become obscure, but not entirely confused.⁸

A

Final unaccented A remains, although much obscured in pronunciation and scarcely more than whispered. FILA; MIA; EPIS-TULA.

E

Final unaccented E remains, although much obscured in pronunciation and scarcely more than whispered. FINE; UNZIONE.

I

Final unaccented I is usually written E, although it is not to be confused with E coming from Latin E, as the E from Latin I produced a vowel-change in the preceding tonic syllable,⁹ while the E coming from Latin E causes no such development.

CHISTE, (m. pl.),	CHESTE, (f. pl.).
SUJE, (m. pl.),	SOJE, (f. pl.).
CHILLE, (m. pl.),	CHELLE, (f. pl.).
TUJE, (m. pl.),	TOJE, (f. pl.).

O

Final unaccented O (generally representing Classic Latin short U) becomes obscured in sound and is usually pronounced as a semi-mute U, although it is written as O. It produces a vowel-change in the preceding tonic syllable.¹⁰

PUORCO, masc.,	PORCA, fem.
PUOSTO, masc.,	POSTA, fem.
BUONO, masc.,	BONA, fem.
UOVO, sing.,	OVA, pl.

⁸ Wentrup says that final vowels are either dropped or changed to *e*, but are kept in writing with the exception of *i* which is written *e*. Final vowels drop in some of the Neapolitan provinces, but not in the dialects of Naples itself.

⁹ Providing it contains an *e* or *o*.

¹⁰ If it contains an *e* or *o*.

U

Final unaccented U is confused with final unaccented O and produces the same results.

CONSONANTS (Vulgar Latin)

Consonants tend to lose their force and are often confused. These confusions are generally of the voiced with the voiceless consonants, as the voiceless, losing the force of their explosions, become even weaker than the voiced. Metathesis is very common, especially with R. (L. is often confused with R.)

Initial

B

Initial B remains or is confused with V, which is usually bilabial.

BAGNO; BALESTRA; BANCO; BANNERA, bandera; BANNO, bando; VALLENA, BALLENA; BALICIA, VALICIA, valigia; BUOSCO, VUOSCO; VALANZA, bilanza; VARCA, barca; VASO, bacio, (basium.)

BR initial remains or is confused with VR, sometimes with PR. BRILLO; BROCCA; BRODO; VRACCIO, braccio; VRANCA, branca; VRECCIA, breccia; BRUNELLA, PRUNELLA.

BL initial becomes J in purely plebeian words. JANCO; JASTEMMARE.

In patrician words we have BI. This may however be simply a borrowing from the Tuscan. BIAVÀ, biada; BIANCO.

F

F initial remains. It is sometimes however confused with V. Often after F or V we have metathesis of an R originally final in the syllable and the result is the combination FR or VR.

FORTE; FINE; FERMATA; FESTA; VROCCA, forca; VRUCCATA, forcata; FRÀVECA, fabbrica; FRAVAGLIERIA, farfaglieria; FREVA, febbre.

FL presents three developments.¹¹ In purely plebeian words it becomes SCI; in purely Neapolitan patrician words it becomes FR; in words influenced by, or borrowed from the Tuscan, it becomes FI.

¹¹ Wentrup only mentions the plebeian development.

Plebeian words: SCIAMMA, fiamma; SCIANCO, fianco; SCIORE, fiore; SCIUMMO, fiume.

Patrician words: FRAUTO, flauto; FRACCO, fiacco; FRATO, fiato; FREMMA, flemma.

Words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan: FIANCO, cf. SCIANCO above; FIACCO, cf. FRACCO above; FIATO, cf. SCIATO, FRATO; FIOCCO, cf. SCIOCCO.

FR initial remains. (Sometimes confused with VR.) FRATE; VROCCA

V

V initial usually remains, but is often confused with B, and occasionally with F. Metathesis of an R originally final in the syllable or even belonging to the following syllable is frequent, the result being initial VR.

VASO, bacio; VARCA, barca; VASCIELLO; VEDERE, BALICIA, VALICIA; VROCCA, forca; VRITO, vetro; VRIOGNA, vergogna; VRECCIA, freccia.

Initial VR remains. See examples under V.

P

Initial P remains, although weakened and often confused with B. PUMATA; PONTE; PORTA; PORCA.

Initial PL presents three developments. In purely plebeian words it becomes CHI; it purely Neapolitan patrician words it becomes PR; in words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan it becomes PI.

Plebeian words: CHIÒVERE; CHIÀGNERE; CHIÙ; CHIANO; CHI-ATTO.

Patrician words: PREBBA; PRATÈA; PRÀTANO; PRENARIO; PRICO, piego.

Words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan: PIACERE; PIANO; PIATTO.

As will be seen from the foregoing examples sometimes two forms are co-existent.

Initial PR generally remains, although sometimes confused in pronunciation with BR. Metathesis of an R final in the syllable or even belonging to the next syllable is possible, resulting in initial PR instead of simple P.

PRETA, pietra; PREMONE (pulmonem); PRÈVULA, pergola; PRUBBECARE, pubblicare.

D

Initial D remains or weakens into a spirant, sometimes disappearing entirely. These developments are usually not shown in the spelling, but must be carefully noted in the spoken language. Occasionally we have initial D written as R, which spelling denotes a weak tongue-trilled R or a weak dental spirant.

DEVUZIONE; DOJE, due; DIGNO; RICERE (dicere); RIÈBBETO (debitum); R'O, del.

DR initial occurs rarely. It is kept. DRAÒNE, dragone; DRAPPARÌA; DRUGARÌA.

T

T initial remains. There is often metathesis of an R final in the same syllable or even belonging to the following syllable resulting in initial TR.

TIANO (tegamen); TICO (tecum); TERRA; TRIATO, teatro; TRÙVULO, torbido.

TR initial remains. TRAFECARE; TRANSETO; TRENTA; TREZZA.

L

L initial remains. LABBRO; LACO, lago; LÀGREMA; LEGGERE; LIBBRO.

M

M initial remains although weakened. MATTINO; MATTO; MESSA; METTERE; MILO, melo; MISCHIO.

Does PANDOLINO for "mandolino" present an onomatopoeic development?

MB becoming initial becomes MM. So also MV or NV becoming initial becomes MM. MMASCIATA, ambasciata; MMEDIARE, invidiare; MMITARE, invitare.

MBL becoming initial becomes MBI. MBR becoming initial remains.

MBIANCO; MBRELLO; MBRIACARE.

MM or NM becoming initial remains as MM. MMERITARSE; MMEDICARE (immedicare).

MP becoming initial remains. MPAGLIARE; MPALARE; MPE-DIRE.

MPL becoming initial becomes NCHI or MPL. MPR remains. NCHIAANTARE, impiantare; NCHIASTRO, impiastro; MPIEGARE; MPRESA; MPRIÈSTETO; imprestito.

N

N initial remains. NASO; NATURA; NEMMICO; NEPOTE; NUOVO; NU, uno.

It disappears in UN, non.

NC becoming initial develops as Tuscan NC. NCATENARE; NCE.

NCHI coming from MLP remains. NCHIAANTARE; NCHIASTRO.

ND becoming initial remains if the word has been regarded as a compound with the prefix IN, otherwise it becomes NN. NDERIZZO; NDIAVULARSE; NDURARE; NDUVINO; NNUSTRIA, industria; NNURDO (indulto) NNOGLIA (inductilem?),¹² salsiccia.

NF becoming initial remains. NFAME; NFETTO; NFASCIATA; NFELICE.

NFL becomes NFR or NFI. NFRAGRANTE; NFIAMMARE.

NFR becoming initial remains. NFRACETARE, infradiciare; NFRASCARE; NFRATTO.

NG becoming initial remains, the G taking the sound of Tuscan G before E and I and remaining a stop before A, O, and U. NGANNARE; NNEGGNARSE.

NGR becoming initial remains. NGRANITO; NGRASSARE; NGRATO.

NN becoming initial remains. NNESTO; NNANZE; NNAMMURATO.

NQU becoming initial remains. NQUARTATO; NQUILINO.

NS becoming initial becomes NTS (written NS or NZ). NSINO; NSISTO; NZEGNARE; NZERRARE; NZURDIRE; NZOMMA; NZAPUNATA.

NT becoming initial remains. NTACCA; NTACCARE; NTAGLIO; NTAVULARE.

NTR becoming initial remains. NTRÈPETO, intrèpido; NTRICO, intrigo; NTRUNARE, intronare.

NV becoming initial becomes MM. MMITARE. See other examples under MB or MV.

¹² Cf. Andreòli.

R

R initial remains. RÀDECA; RANCIO; RANCORE; RARO; RÈGOLA; RIPÀ.

S and X

S initial remains. SANO; SANTO; SÈNAPO; SEMPE, sempre; SESTO; SOMMA; SUPPRIRE, supplire; SURDO; SURZO, soisso.

SB and XB becoming initial remain as SB.¹³ SBANIRE; SBALANZO; SBATTERE.

SV and XV becoming initial become SB. SBENTURATO; SBENIRE; SBITARE; SBISARE.

SBR and XBR becoming initial remain as SBR. SBRAVIARE; SBRENNESIARE, fare brindisi; SBRUGLIARE, sbrogliare.

The forms SBREVUGNARE, SBRIUGNARE, SBRUVEGNARE, svergognare, show metathesis of an R final in the syllable.

SC and XC before A, O, and U give SC in which the S has the sound of Tuscan SC before E and I (English SH, K). SCALA; SCAMPARE; SCAPPARE; SCARPA.

SC and XC before E and I give SC as in Tuscan. SCETARE (excitare); SCESA; SCENA; SCOMO.

SCL and XCL becoming initial give SCHI (Eng. SHKY). SCHIAFO; SCHIARARE.

SCR and XCR becoming initial give SCR. SCRIVERE; SCRÙPULO.

SCREMA, scherma, shows metathesis.

SD and XD becoming initial give SD. SDEGNO; SDRAMMA; SDUGANARE.

SF and XF becoming initial give SF. SFACCIATA; SFALLUTO; SFARZETTO; SFASCIO.

SFL and XFL becoming initial give SFI. SFIANCARE; SFIATARE.

Is this not rather a case of borrowing and are not the true Neapolitan forms SCIANCARE and SCIATARE? It is difficult to decide whether the SCI in these cases comes from an initial FL or XFL becoming initial.

SFR and XFR becoming initial give SFR. SFRANTO; SFRATTO; SFRENARE.

¹³ S before any other consonant, especially when initial, may be slightly palatalized and is often pronounced as Eng. *sh*. This is especially true of *s* before *c*.

SG and XG before A, O, and U give SG. SGABELLO; SGARBA; SGATTO; SGOBBIA; SGUMMARE; SGONFIARE.

SG and XG before E and I. No examples recorded.

SGR and XGR becoming initial become SGR. SGRANARE; SGRASSARE; SGRAVARE.

SL and XL becoming initial become SL. SLABRARE; SLAVATO.

SM and XM becoming initial give SM. SMAGLIARE; SMACCHIARE; SMANGIARE; SMANIARE; SMERCIO.

SP and XP becoming initial give SP. SPUORCO; SPICARE; SPEDIRE; SPANNERE, spandere; SPALLA.

SPL and XPL becoming initial give SCHI, SBR, or SPI, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or borrowed. SCHIANARE, spianare; SCHIANO; SCHIANTARE; SBRENNERE, splendere; SBRENNORE, splendore; SPIECARE, spiegare.

ST and XT becoming initial give ST. STACCARE; STAFFA; STAGNO; STARE; STANCARE.

STR and XTR initial or becoming initial give STR. STRACCIO; STRACHINO; STRACUOTTO; STRATA, strada.

SV and XV becoming initial give SB. SBENARE; SBENIRE; SBENTURA.

SGUIZZERO, svizzero, points to original SW or SGW.

C

C initial before A, O, and U remains. CAUDO, caldo; CATÀVERE; CURTIELLO, coltello; CUOCO; CONTA; CONNULA, gondola; COGLIERE.

C initial before E and I develops as in Tuscan. CITÀ, città; CIGLIO; CERA; CEPRIESSO, cipresso.

CL initial gives CHI, CR, or CL, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or borrowed from the Latin (learned).

CHIAVARE; CHIUDERE; CHIARO; CREMENZA; CRIMMA; CLARINETTO; CLIENTE; CLIMMA.

CR initial remains. CRITECA; CRURO, crudo.

CRAPA, capra, shows metathesis resulting in initial CR.

G

G initial before A, O, and U generally remains, but is sometimes lost. GAMMA, gamba; GOLA; GUDERE, godere; GUMMA; ALINA; GÀMMARO, ÀMMARO.

G initial before E and I develops as in Tuscan. GEMELLO; GENERALE; GENERUSITÀ; GENTE.

GL initial becomes GLI or J. GLIANDRA; JACCIO, ghiaccio.

GN becoming initial develops as Tuscan GN. GNOPATE, signor padre; GNORE, signore.

GR initial usually remains, but sometimes becomes R. GRECA; GRAZIA; GRATO; GRATTARE; RANFA; RAGNONE.

J and DI

J and DI initial give J. So also sometimes GL. JUORNO (diurnus); JUSTIZIA; JURARE; JUSTO; JUVO (jugum); JUDICIO; JESSO; JETTO; JETTATURA; JACCIO, ghiaccio.

QU

QU initial remains before A; otherwise it becomes CH except in patrician or borrowed words. CHISTO; CHILLO; QUATENO; QUASE; QUATRO; QUAGLIO; QUINTA; QUIBUS; QUESTURA.

MEDIAL CONSONANTS

B

B intervocalic usually remains. B and V are often however confused. Sometimes B and P are confused. B is often doubled especially after initial A. ABBELE, abile; ABBELITÀ; ABBEVERARE; ABBULIRE; ABETO, abito; ABETATO; SÀPETO, SÀBBETO, sabato.

BR intervocalic usually becomes BBR. ABBREO, ebbreo; ABBREVIARE; ABBRUNZO, bronzo.

ABBRILE shows BR for PR.

CALAVRESE; CALAVRESTA; show VR.

FRÀVECA, fabbrica; FREVA, febbre; SFRÀVE CARE; sfabbricare; show metathesis of R, and the B remaining intervocalic has become confused with V.

BL intervocalic becomes BBR. UBBRICARE, obligare.

PRUBBECARE, pubblicare; PRUBBECA show metathesis but also BB.

BI and BBI intervocalic become GGI. AGGIO (habeo); ASSOGGETTARE; BENAGGIA; MANAGGIA; ARRAGGIATO.

ANNEGLIARE, anneggiare; NEGLIA, nebbia; NIGLIO; are difficult to explain.

F

F intervocalic remains. ADDEFENNERE, difendere.

FF intervocalic remains. AFFÀBELE; AFFACCIARE; AFFAMATO; AFFATICARE.

FL and FFL give SCI, FFR, FFI, FFL, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, borrowed from the Tuscan, or borrowed from the Latin. ASCIARE (adflare); ASCIATARSE; AFFREZIONE; AFFRIGERE; AFFIANCO; AFFIAMMARE; AFFIARTARSE; AFFLEZIONE; AFFLIGERE.

Note that often two forms are co-existent.

FR intervocalic remains. ADDEFRISCO; ADDEFRESCARE.

FFR intervocalic remains. AFFRANCARE; AFFRAPARE; AFFRUNTO, affronto.

V

V intervocalic usually remains. ADDEVENTARE; ADDUVINARE.

In ARRUINARE it has disappeared. Is this perhaps not a borrowing?

VV, DV intervocalic usually becomes BB. ABBIARE; ABBI-ENTO; ABBIZIARE.

P

P intervocalic usually remains, but is often confused in pronunciation with B. ACCUPARE, occupare; ANTIPASTO.

ÈBBRECA, epoca, is difficult to explain.

PP intervocalic usually remains. CAPPA; CAPPIELLO; TAPPO.

PI, PPI, DPI, intervocalic may give GGI, CCI, BBI, or PPI. ASSAGGIARE; SACCIO; SECCIA; ADDUOBBIIO; DOPPIO.

PL intervocalic. Examples: REPRUBECA (not original PL); ALLEBBRECA, replica.

PPL, DPL intervocalic gives CCHI, PPR, or PPI, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or influenced by the Tuscan. ACCHIANARE; ACCOCCHIARE; APPRACARE; APPRECIARE; APPIACERE.

PR intervocalic remains. CUPRIRE, coprire.

PT intervocalic gives TT as in Tuscan. ACCATTIVARE; ADDUTTARE.

D

D intervocalic may remain; or it may become a dental spirant, designated by R;¹⁴ or it may lose its voice and become a weak T;

¹⁴ Or it may actually be a tongue-trilled r.

or it may lose its force still more and become a very indistinct dento-labial sound designated by V;¹⁵ or it may disappear entirely. On the other hand it may become DD. ACCÀDERE; ACCIDENTATO; AD-DEDECA, dedica; ARAPIRE (adaprire); MARONNA, madonna; ACCARÈMIA; CATÀVERE, cadavere; GRATETÙTENE; CÒMMETO, comodo; BIAVA; CHIOVO; INCHIUVARE; PARAVISO; AUNIRE (adunire); AORNATO (adornato); ADDORE, odore; CRÈDDETO, credito; GRATETÙD-DENE.

It will be noted that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

TRIÈPULO, tepido; PELAGRA, (podagra); show L.

PERNICE (perdix); ARPINO (Elpidius) show N.

DR may be confused with TR. ALISANTRO (Alexander); CUC-CUTRILLO,¹⁶ coccodrillo.

DD intervocalic usually remains. ADDEFFENNERE; ADDATA, data; ADDEREZZARE; ADDOVE, addò.

DI intervocalic may give GGHI, or J, or GGI, or DI, or DDI. AGGHIUECARE; AGGHIIGNERE; AGGHIUSTARE; APOJARE; APOJO; APOGGIARE; CUMMEDIA; CUMMEDDIA.

It will be noted that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

The forms in GGI are probably Tuscan; those in DI, DDI are probably patrician.

DM intervocalic becomes MM. AMMIRAGLIO; AMMUBIGLIARE.

DN intervocalic becomes NN. ANNUCARE; ANNUDO; ANNUMERARE.

T

T intervocalic remains, although sometimes doubled and sometimes weakened into an obscure sound designated by C.¹⁷ ACCIDENTATO; ABBITARE; SCUTO; STRATA; TUTTO; VUMECARE, vomitare.

TU intervocalic becomes TT. BATTERE.

TR intervocalic usually remains, though the R may be misplaced by metathesis or may be lost.

ANNETRIRE; PRETA, pietra; TRIATO, teatro; PATE, PATRE, padre; MATEMA, mia madre.

TY intervocalic may become Z, ZZ, ZI, ZZI (Z-TS), or SCI, GI.

¹⁵ Wentrup regards this as a secondary development arising from hiatus formed by disappearance of the *d*.

¹⁶ This shows metathesis (Lat. *crocodilus*).

¹⁷ This also occurs in Vulgar Florentine (S. Frediano).

ABBIZIARE, avviziare; ACCAREZZARE; AGGRAZIARE; AMICIZIA;
APPREZZARE; ACCURTEZZA; ASSULUZIONE; STASCIONATO, STAGIO-
NATO; ANGOSCIA.

L

L intervocalic usually remains, but is sometimes confused with R.

ABBALERSE, avvalersi; ÀBBELE, abile; ALEZIONE, elezione; UCCHIARE, UCCHIALE, ACCHIARE.

LL intervocalic remains. ABBALLO; AFFULLARSE; ALLARIARE, allargare.

LB intervocalic is interchangeable with RB. ALBA, ARBA; ÀLBERO, ÀRBERO.

LC intervocalic before A, O, and U usually becomes RC. ARCUOVO; SURCO; BARCONE.

LC intervocalic before E and I may develop into UC, in which the C has the sound of Roman C before E and I. If preceded by a U, the U resulting from the L disappears. ADDUCIRE.

LD intervocalic may become RD or UD. CAUDO; SCARDINO; SCAUDARE; FARDA, FAUDA.

LG intervocalic before A, O, and U remains. COLGO.

LG intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan. COGLIERE.

LNE intervocalic develops as in Tuscan. BAGNARE.

LM intervocalic may become MM. AMMENO.

LP intervocalic may become RP or UP. NCURPARE, incolpare; ASSARPARE, assalpare.

LS intervocalic may become RZ or UZ (Z-TS). ACCEUZO, eccelso; FAUZO, FARZO; BORZO; BÀRZEMO.

If preceded by U it may give Z. PUZO, polso.

LT intervocalic may become UT or RD. AUTARE; AUTEZZA; RISARDO; ÒRDEMO, ultimo.

LTi intervocalic may become IZ or UZ. AIZARE; AIZATURA; AUZO (altius)

LTR intervocalic may give T, UT, or UTR. ATO, AUTO, AUTRO.

LV intervocalic may become RV. ASSORVERE; BERVA; PORVA, polvere.

SPUVERARE shows V alone after U.

LY, LE, LI intervocalic develop as in Tuscan. BATTAGLIA;
AMMUBIGLIARE.

M

M intervocalic usually remains, but is sometimes doubled.
ÀNEMA; ABBALLAMIENTO; ABBRAMMA; AMMORE; ACCARÈMMIA,
accademia.

MM, NM intervocalic give MM. AMMANCARE.

MB intervocalic becomes MM. AGGAMMARE; GAMMA; AMMA-
scía, ambascía.

MBI intervocalic becomes GN. SCAGNO; CAGNARE.

MP intervocalic usually remains. ABBAMPARE, avvampare;
ACCAMPARE.

MPL intervocalic becomes NCHI, MPR, or MPI, according as
the word is plebeian, patrician, or influenced by the Tuscan. NCHI-
UMMARE; CUMPRIMENTO; ASSEMPIA.

MPR intervocalic remains. AMPRESA.

MN intervocalic becomes NN. DANNARE.

DAMMAGGIARE is probably borrowed.

N

N intervocalic usually remains. It may be doubled. ANEMA;
ABBUNNANTE; ANNORE, onore.¹⁸

NC intervocalic before A, O, and U remains. AMMALIN-
CUNIRSE; AMMANCARE; BIANCO, JANCO.¹⁹

NCL has become GN in GNOSTRO, inchiostro.

NC intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan or gives
NZ²⁰ (NTS). ABBENCERE, vincere; ANCINO, uncino; PANZA;
FRANZA.

ND intervocalic becomes NN. ABBANNUNARE; ABBUNNANZA;
ADDEFENNERE; ADDIMANNARE; DICENNO.

¹⁸ *beleno* (venenum), *caloneco* (canonicus) show *l* by dissimilation.

¹⁹ Wentrup considers *becchè* (*benchè*) a case of assimilation (*nc > cc*)—but this is rather to be taken as *bz + che* in which the *c* would geminate regularly to preserve the quantity of the preceding syllable. *Be* is the regular Neapolitan form of the Latin *bene*.

²⁰ *nz* points to *ncy* intervocalic.

NG intervocalic before A, O, and U generally remains. ALLUNGARE; LUNGO.

NG intervocalic before E and I usually becomes GN, sometimes NG as in Tuscan. AGGHIognERE; aggiungere; ASTRIGNERE; CHIÀGNERE, piangere; ANGÈLECO; ÀNGIULO.

The last two examples may be patrician or learned.

NS intervocalic may remain but more frequently becomes NZ (NTS). ACCUNSENTIRE; ADDENZARE; CANZARE; PENZARE.

NT intervocalic usually remains. ACCANTO; ACCIDENTATO; ABBASTANTE.

NTR intervocalic may become NT. DINTO.

NTY, NTE, NTI, intervocalic become NZ as in Tuscan. ACCELLENZA; AMINENZA; ASSENZIALE; ANZE.

NV intervocalic becomes MM. ACCUMMENIRE, acconvenire; AMMENTARE, inventare; BEMMENUTO, benvenuto; MMIDIA, invidia.

R

R intervocalic remains.²¹ CURA; PERO.

In the infinitive of verbs the last syllable is usually dropped and we have PENZÀ; CURÀ; FINÌ; LÈGGE.

RR intervocalic remains. ACCORRERE; ACCURRENZA.

RB intervocalic remains. AGGARBARE; BIRBONE; AMMURBARE. AÙSCIULO, arbusciolo, shows its disappearance.

RC before A, O, and U remains. ABBARCARE; FURCARE; MIÈRCUDI.

RC intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan, or gives RZ (RTS). AMMARCIARE; MERCIÈ; PERZÒ; MPERZO.

RD intervocalic remains. ABBUORDO; ACCUORDO; ACCURDARE.

RG intervocalic before A, O, and U may become RI. In patrician words it remains. LÀRIO, LARGO; ALLARIARE.

PRÈVULA shows metathesis of R and a regular development of intervocalic G.

RG before E and I develops as in Tuscan. ARRISORGERE.

PRÒJERE, porgere, shows metathesis of R and a regular development of intervocalic G.

RM intervocalic remains. ADDURMIRE; ALLARME.

²¹ When there are two R's in the same word, dissimilation is frequent. *lecordare, allecordare, ricordare; pellegrino* (peregrinus).

RN intervocalic remains. ATERNO; ATERNITÀ.

RS intervocalic becomes RZ (RTS). AMMURZARE; ARZENALE; ARZÈNICO; ARZO; ARZURA; PERZIANA.

RT intervocalic remains. ACCERTARE; ACCUORTO; ACCURTEZZA.

In ÀRDICA, ortica, it has become RD.

S

S intervocalic remains, occasionally being confused with SS. ABBUSARE; ABBUSO; ACCASARE; ACCUSO; AMMUSSARE.

SS intervocalic remains, however taking a certain palatal quality and sometimes being written SCI. ACCESSIVO; CASCETTA; CASCIA, cassa; ABBASCIO, abbasso.

SC before A, O, and U remains.²² ABBUSCARE; AFFUSCARE; MASCULO.

SC before E and I develops as in Tuscan. AMMASCIATA; AMMUSCIARE.

ST intervocalic remains. ABBASTARE; ABBISTARE, avvistare; ACCUSTARE, accostare.

STR intervocalic often becomes ST. MASTO, maestro; INCHI-ASTO, impiastro; PULLASTO.

SY, SE, SI intervocalic becomes S. VASO (basium) bacio; CAMISA, camicia; CERASO (ceraseum) ciliegio.

C

C intervocalic before A, O, and U generally remains. ABBRÀ-ICO, ebraico; ÀDUCARE, educare; AFFATICARE.

C intervocalic before E and I develops as in Roman. ABBE-CENARE, avvicinare; AFFECACE, efficace; AFFICIALE, ufficiale.

CC before A, O, and U remains. ABBUCCARE; ACCADERE; ACCASIONE; ACCUPARE.

CC before E and I becomes ZZ. AZZETTARE; AZZIETTO; LAZZO.

Many words show Tuscan CCI. ABBRACCIARE; ACCAC-CIARE; AFFACCIARE.

CL intervocalic becomes CCHI. UOCCHIO; UCCHIATA.

AGRISSE, eclissi, is patrician and shows GR.

CCL, DCL intervocalic become CCHI or CCR, according as the word is plebeian or patrician. ACCHIAPARE; ACCRAMARE, acclamare.

²² The *s* is slightly palatized (Eng shk, sht).

ACCRAVACARE, accavalcare, is an example of metathesis resulting in CCR.

CR intervocalic may remain or become GR. LÀCREMA, LÀGREMA.

CT intervocalic becomes TT as in Tuscan. TITTO, tetto; FATTO; AFFETTO.

CTE, CTI intervocalic become ZZ, ZI as in Tuscan. ARRIZZARE; BENEDIZIONE.

G

G intervocalic before A, O, and U may remain; or it may lose its voice and become a very weak C; or it may be weakened still more and result in a very indistinct consonant sound designated by V; or it may lose its consonant value either partially or completely and become J or disappear. BRIGANTE; STRECA; TÈCULA; STRÒLACO, astrologo; LETECARE (litigare); SPAVO; JUVO (jugum); SUVERO;²³ PAVARE (pagare); PREJARE, pregare; CHIAJA, piaga; ANNEJARE, annegare; NIOZIO, negozio; RAÒSTA, aragosta; AÙSTO, agosto.

G intervocalic before E and I may become J or give Tuscan GGI. PÀGENA, PÀGGENA; LEGGE; LEGGERE; LEJERE; FAJO.

GG, DG intervocalic before E and I develop as in Tuscan. AGGENTAGLIA; ALLUGGIARE.

GGL, DGL intervocalic become GGHI. AGGHIAJARE, agghiaciare.

GN intervocalic becomes palatal as Tuscan GN. ACCUMPAGNARE; ARREGNARE; ASSIGNARE.

GR intervocalic often becomes CR; but may remain; or become simply R. ACRO; SCENÒCRAFO; TELÈCRAFO; ANNEGRIRE; ALLERAMENTE.

GGR, DGR intervocalic usually give GGR. AGGRANIRE; AGGRAVARSE; AGGRAZIARE.

J

J intervocalic gives V in PEVO and disappears in MAORE.

MAGGIORE is a borrowing from the Tuscan and is usually used to designate rank in the army.

²³ Wentrup restricts *g > v* to a position before *o* or *u*.

FINAL CONSONANTS.

Final consonants had mostly disappeared at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, leaving the final sounds vowels. However final S in accented syllables persisted and has left a trace in Neapolitan, appearing as JE. NUJE (nos) ; VUJE (vos).

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BARTHÉLEMY ANEAU: A STUDY IN HUMANISM

BARTHÉLEMY ANEAU, poet, historian, juriconsult and educator, was one of the many interesting personages of the early French Renaissance.¹ His interests were so numerous, his struggles so great, and his erudition so profound, that no complete history of this period of French literature can any longer neglect to give him just consideration. His influence on the Lyonnese Renaissance is incontestable, while his name is inseparably connected with the history of the Pléiade through his criticism—not always just—of the *Deffence et Illustration* of Du Bellay. As an educator, he was highly esteemed by his scholarly contemporaries. Influenced by Rabelais, for whom he did not conceal his admiration, he anticipated in many respects our modern methods of instruction. Under his able direction, the small Collège de la Trinité acquired a national reputation. He was not a poet of importance: he was merely one of the many clever versifiers, last offshoots of the dead rhetorical school. La Monnoye, though severe, is nevertheless to a great extent correct when he says that Aneau is a *pauvre écrivain soit en latin soit en français*.² Conservative to the extreme in regard to literature, he was unable to foresee, as did Peletier, du Mans and others, that a new inspiration would be requisite to rekindle the dying embers of poetry. Too liberal for the times in his religious views and severe as a critic, he became rich in enemies, whose relentless attacks were not to cease even with his tragic death. But throughout his whole life, he clung to his ideals and refused to swerve from the rule of duty. For this alone, if for nothing else, he deserves to be remembered.

I

Aneau (Latinized as Anulus) was a native of Bourges.³ Of his parents we know nothing, save what the poet tells us himself in

¹ The preparation of this study was announced in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, VIII, 1907, p. 120.

² Bregnot du Lut, *Nouveaux Mélanges biographiques et littéraires*, Lyons, 1829-31, p. 198.

³ Cf. the passage in the *Emblèmes d'Alciat* in which he calls Bourges "*ville de ma nativité*."

explanation of his *devise*, or motto, *pardurable peu durable*.⁴ Taking for his emblem a serpent with its tail in its mouth encircling a rose, he adds:

Extraict de gens non gentilz, n'apparens,
Armes n'ay nobles de mes parens;
Mon père eut nom Aneau, ma mère Rose:
Du nom des deux ma marque je compose.⁵

The date of Aneau's birth is unknown. But from the statements which he makes in the *Quintil Horatian* and in the preface of the *Picta Poesis*, we are inclined to place it not later than 1509, and probably in the vicinity of 1505. In the former work, he declares that he had translated *toute l'Art Poétique* of Horace *y a plus de vingt ans avant Pelletier et tout autre*.⁶ Now according to M. Chamard, the *Quintil Horatian* must have appeared in 1550.⁷ So the only conclusion possible is that Aneau must have completed his translation before 1530, more probably, if we allow for the *plus* in his statement, about 1528 or 1529. It would be natural to suppose that Aneau was at least twenty years of age when he accomplished such a work. Furthermore we are not sure that this was his first literary effort. Taking all these facts into consideration, as well as his aptitude for Latin, we can safely assume that 1505 approaches very closely the date of his birth. This is also quite in accord with what he tells us of himself in 1552 in the dedi-

⁴The Archives of Bourges contain no information concerning the family of Aneau.

⁵*Imagination poétique*, Lyons, 1552, p. 14. The poet continues:

L'Aneau, Serpent en soy se retordant,
Par cercle rond, queue en teste mordant;
Et en figure Hieroglyphique, Note
Qui en Aegypte, Aeternité dénote
La Rose aussi, qui flaistrit et périt:
Dès le jour mesme auquel elle florit:
Mortalité représente. Et pourtant
Que d'âme et corps est mon estre constant:
D'un corps mortel, et d'une âme immortelle:
Armes des noms je porte en marque telle.

⁶*Art poétique françois* (of Thomas Sibilet) . . . avec le *Quintil Horatian*, etc., Paris, 1573, p. 181.

⁷*La Date et l'Auteur du Quintil Horatian*, *Revue d'Histoire littéraire*, 1898, p. 60, etc.

catory preface of the *Picta Poesis*. He states therein (p. 3) that more than thirty years have elapsed since he has seen his friend Babo, with whom he studied under Simon Dagobert. In other words, about 1520, or when Aneau was fifteen or sixteen years of age, he was still attending the preparatory school in the famous Hôtel Jacques-Cœur.

From the above-mentioned preface we also learn that Aneau passed his youth in his native city, Bourges. Addressing his friend Philibert Babo, bishop of Angoulême,⁸ he recalls the pleasures of their childhood days, how greatly he enjoyed going to school with Babo and his three brothers—*cum tribus unâ fratribus tuis apud Biturigum Metropolis in Magnifica Iacobi Cordis domo*. It was there that, along with other noble youths who afterward became celebrated men—*Aliisque nobilissimis tùm pueris, nunc autem viris ornatissimis*,—they were first instructed in letters—*primum in literis institueremur*—by Simon Dagobert, *prudentissimo et eruditissimo viro*. Aneau states furthermore that more than thirty years have elapsed since that time, when he last saw his friend—*ab illo tempore elapsis triginta et amplius annis, cùm ego te numquam postea viderim*. It appears from the above that the parents of Aneau were in comfortable circumstances, inasmuch as they were able to send their son to a school held in such a magnificent *hôtel*, where he was the companion of scions of noble families.

After completing his studies with Dagobert, Aneau pursued in all probability more advanced courses in the University of Bourges, which was at that time one of the leading institutions in France.⁹ As early as 1529, the celebrated German humanist, Melchior de Wolmar, was occupying the chair of Greek in this university—a chair that was to be filled later by Amyot.¹⁰ The numerous biographers of Aneau are most probably correct in asserting that the elegance of his Latin and Greek verse is due to the careful training given by Wolmar.¹¹ According to De Thou, Wolmar showed

⁸ This preface is addressed to *amplissimo viro, D. Philiberto Babo Angolis-morum Episcopo*, and is dated *Idibus Sept.*, 1552.

⁹ Cf. *Andreas Alciat*, by Dr. Ernst v. Moeller, Breslau, 1907, pp. 51, etc.

¹⁰ Lasalle, *Michel de l'Hospital*, Paris, 1875, p. 179.

¹¹ Cf. articles by Cochard in Bregnot du Lut, *op. cit.*; Demogeot in *Lyon ancien et moderne*, Lyons, 1838-43, vol. I, pp. 409 ff.; Colonia, *Hist. litt. de Lyon*, Lyons, 1730, vol. II, pp. 666 ff.; Rabanis, *Notice hist. sur le collège royal de Lyon* in the *Arch. hist. du Département du Rhône*, Lyons, 1827, pp. 127 ff., etc.

wonderful talent for instructing youth; *et un plus merveilleux talent encore*, adds the Père Colonia, *pour l'empoisonner en l'instruisant*.¹² The Jesuit father is referring, of course, to Wolmar's celebrated pupils, Calvin, Amyot, and Théodore de Bèze, whose influence, in addition to that of his teacher, caused Aneau to regard the new faith with favor. Nevertheless, we may hasten to add that he never openly professed Protestantism—in fact, nothing can be found in his works which might place him in the ranks of the reformers.

It is also quite probable that Aneau acquired his broad legal knowledge from the great Italian jurist, André Alciat, who lectured in the University of Bourges from 1529 to 1533.¹³ In a note to one of the *Emblèmes* of Alciat which we shall discuss later, Aneau writes the following: "Bourges . . . ville de ma nativité où le seigneur Alciat, auteur du présent œuvre, ha par plusieurs ans interpreté les loix à très grande renommée et en celle université premièrement leu en France."¹⁴ In later life the poet used to advantage the careful legal training which he received while a student at Bourges. We have not only several works touching more or less upon the law, but we may note at once his ability as an orator and the argumentative spirit of many of his poems, which reveal the tendency of his thought. When the Parliament of Savoy decided to revise their statutes, Aneau was selected to perform the task.¹⁵ Later on, the Echevins of Lyons commissioned him to make a redaction of the laws governing festivals and fairs.¹⁶

II

It is not known whether Aneau began his teaching at Bourges, or whether he devoted his entire time there to literary work. Nor is it ascertained at what date he was called from his native city to the metropolis of southern France. We can easily understand why he considered favorably a call from the struggling Collège de la Trinité. The brilliant coterie of scholars and poets in Lyons,

¹² Colonia, *op. cit.*, p. 668.

¹³ Moeller, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ *Emblèmes d'Alciat*, Lyons, Roville, 1549, p. 17.

¹⁵ *Stile et reiglement . . . dressé par la court de Parlement de Savoye*, Lyons, Portonaris, 1553.

¹⁶ *Ordonnances et Privileges des Foires de Lyon*, Lyons, Fradin, 1560.

the religious liberty enjoyed by the city under the government of Du Peyrat and others, the intellectual prominence of the professors of the Collège de la Trinité under the direction of Claude de Cublize¹⁷—all these facts had some influence upon his decision. On the other hand, Bourges was well represented at Lyons. Several of its former citizens were among the members of the city council of Lyons,¹⁸ and probably used their influence toward the election of Aneau.

However that may be, Claude de Cublize, immediately after his appointment as principal of the Collège de la Trinité in 1533, began to look about for capable teachers. His attention was soon attracted to young Aneau, whose reputation as a poet and scholar had already passed beyond the bounds of his native city. It was the custom in the college—as is shown by a document of 1540 discussed later on—to have one or two regents able to direct the studies of the advanced students, while the younger men, or *bacheliers*, performed the purely pedagogical duties. Cublize, therefore, offered Aneau a position in the college about 1533,¹⁹ and the young scholar accepted. Immediately after his arrival in Lyons, Aneau was placed in charge of the class in rhetoric.

As a teacher, Aneau acquitted himself with as much zeal as talent. During his long years of service in the Collège de la Trinité, he was always popular with his pupils. This was due no doubt to the fact that, as we learn from some verses in the *Imagination poétique* (p. 43), he was not possessed of the *tyrannie des magisters*, so common at that time. Beneath an engraving of a woman punishing a child, we find these characteristic verses:

¹⁷ For Canappe, Raynier and other famous professors of this college, see my articles on the *Collège de la Trinité avant 1540*, in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1908, pp. 73-94; 1909, pp. 137-157 and 204-215.

¹⁸ Claude de Bourges was Echevin of Lyons in 1532-33, the year that Aneau was probably called. Cf. Poullin de Lumina, *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire de Lyon*, 1767, p. 353.

¹⁹ The date is not certain, for there is no document in the Archives of Lyons that supplies a list of the professors of this college between 1533 and 1540. The biographers of Aneau (see the articles above) give the date 1529, which is incorrect, for we do have the faculty-list for the years 1527-33, and Aneau's name is not recorded. Claude de Rubys states incorrectly in his *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon* (1604, p. 381) that, at the time of his tragic death, Aneau had been principal of the college *bien trente ans*. Aneau was appointed principal, as we shall show, in 1540, and was murdered in 1561.

En cest image est pincte la manie
Des magisters, et fière tyrannie,
Qui les enfans de libre nature
Sauvage rend, par coups et par bature,
Et les Esprits qui estoient libéraux:
Prosterne en crainte, et les mue en ruraux.

And the orator was in no way inferior to the educator. In fact, his ability was so universally recognized by the citizens of Lyons that he was called upon in 1538 to deliver the doctoral oration of St. Thomas—the very formal ceremony that took place in the Eglise St. Nizier on December 21 of each year, when the newly elected Echevins were installed in their offices.²⁰ Only once before had the Echevins of Lyons turned to the Collège de la Trinité for the orator of this occasion, and that was in 1532, when Jean Raynier, a regent of this college, was invited to speak upon the City and the State. The oration of Aneau was so well received that two years later (1540), he had the honor of being the orator for a second time—an honor that had fallen previously to but one individual, the celebrated physician Symphorien Champier, who was selected in 1504 and again in 1519.²¹ Though the compensation was small, the honor was sought by all of the distinguished men of the city.²²

While Aneau had already translated the *Ars Poetica* of Horace as early as 1529—which, as we have stated, remained in its manuscript state—he published his first work in 1537.²³ It was entitled

²⁰ This oration was delivered in Latin; but in the latter part of the century, French was also permitted. Cf. A. Bleton, *Les Oraisons doctorales de la Saint-Thomas*, Lyons, 1891.

²¹ *Ibid.* Maurice Scève père delivered this oration in 1506. Cf. *The Family of Maurice Scève*, Mod. Lang. Publications, 1909, p. 471.

²² Aneau received thirty *sols* for delivering this oration. *Archives communales de Lyon*, CC. 915, fol. 94 (Dec. 21, 1538) and CC. 940 (Dec. 21, 1540).

²³ Claude de Rubys states (*Hist. de Lyon*, p. 356) that in 1513 the Swiss laid siege to Dijon and were threatening Lyons, which caused great excitement among the inhabitants of that city. This event, according to the historian, "donna subiect de nostre temps à maistre Barthelemy Aneau, principal du college de la Trinité, de représenter par gausserie, une grosse brayette qui faisoit peur à un Lion." We are unable to say whether this was a play or not. If it was, it was probably never published. Did this representation take place before 1537? From the words of *nostre temps* used by Rubys, we would place it between 1550 and 1560, probably at the celebration in honor of national peace, which took place in May 1559. Aneau, as will be shown later, arranged the most important part of this festival.

the *Mystère de la Nativité, par personnages, composé en imitation verbale et musicale de diverses chansons recueillies sur l'écriture sainte, et illustré d'icelle*.²⁴ According to Breghot du Lut and Demogeot, this is the same *Mystère* which appears in the volume entitled the *Chant natal*, published in 1539.²⁵ This statement cannot be verified, as the edition of 1537 has become so rare that no copy can be found. However, there is no reason for doubting these bibliographers. The same poem was published a third time in 1559 (with still further additions) under the title *Genethliac musical et historial de la conception et nativité de Jesus-Christ par vers et chants divers, entresemez et illustrez des noms Royaux, et de Princes, etc. Avec un chant Royal pour chanter, a lacclamation des Roys. Ensemble la IV^e Eclogue de Virgile intitulée Pollion ou Auguste, prophetizant la natiuité de Jesus Christ, etc.*²⁶ This edition, however, is as rare as that of 1537, for even the careful Baudrier has been unable to discover a copy.

The *Mystère*, as it appears in the *Chant natal*, is only six pages in length. It bears the following title (p. C r^o): *Mystère de la Nativité de nostre Seigneur Iesuschrist: par personnaiges sur diuers chants de plusieurs chansons. Et premierement, Le uoyage en Bethleem, et l'enfantement de la uierge, sur le chant, Le plus souvent tant il m'ennuye*. As the poet states in these last words, the *Mystère* was sung to the air of a popular song. In the opening scene, Mary addresses Joseph in the following manner:

Joseph, cher espoux, homme iuste,
En Bethleem nous fault aller:
Car l'empereur Cesar Auguste
A faict son edict publier,
En une somme ronde,
Pour nombrer tout le monde,
Et ung denier offrir:
Combien que nous confonde
Froidure, et nous morfonde,
Il nous conuient souffrir.

²⁴ Lyons, Sébastien Gryphe, 1537.

²⁵ Breghot du Lut, *op. cit.*, p. 197, and the article of Demogeot in *Lyon ancien et moderne*, 1838-43, p. 414.

²⁶ *A Lyon, par Godefroy Beringen, 1559, 8vo, Supplément Brunet, I, 42; Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, III, 54; Breghot du Lut, op. cit., p. 197.*

Like a good husband, Joseph replies:

Helas, chere dame Marie,
Sur toutes pleine d'amytié,
Craincte et amour mon cuer uarie,
Ayant de uostre cors pytié.

But he adds after a moment,

Toutesfois la contraincte
Ne fault que soit enfraincte
De l'empereur Romain.

Then Mary advises that they start at once for Bethlehem,

Pour ce partons de la Province,
Tirons tout droict en Bethleem.

But as they have neither *escu ne targe*, she is confident that Poverty will take them *en sa piteuse barge*, and Providence

. . . qui est tant large,
Ne nous delaissera.

The practical Joseph hastens to assure his *chere dame Marie* that they have *ung beuf de pasture* to accompany them, and

Ung asne aussi, qui la porture
De uostre tendre corps fera.

Here the poet inserts in the text the words *ilz vont*, which means that, after going around the stage several times, they arrive at their destination. Joseph sets forth at once in search of a suitable lodging:

Quelque logis parmy la ville
Pour Dieu je m'en vais requerir,
Car nous n'avons ne croix ne pille.

He discovers a splendid *hôtel* and hastens to seek admission. Who should help the poor if not the rich? he says in his naïve way. The host, however, gives him an unexpected reception:

Allez-vous en, vieillard infâme!
Vous me ressemblez ung bergier.

Le logis que je baille
N'est pas pour truandaille,
Mais pour gens de cheval.
Entre vous coquinaire
N'avez denier ni maille.
Allez à l'hospital!

Greatly dismayed by such a welcome, the good Joseph says philosophically:

La chose est notoire et visible
Que povreté n'ha point de lieu.

But fortunately he finds near-by *une estable*

Aux gens inhabitable,
Ou convient demourer.
Le lieu n'est pas notable
Pour Roy ou Connestable.
Il nous fault endurer.

There, at least, they meet with no rebuff. As soon as they are installed, Mary announces to Joseph:

Or maintenant l'heure est uenue
De rendre le fruit precieux,

and the poet adds, *icy naist Iesuschrist*. Then follows the adoration of the Virgin, who says:

O Sauveur de l'humain lignage,
Divinité soubz corps humain,
Je te rendz ma foy et hommaige
Comme un filz du Roy souverain.

Joseph also has a word to say:

Helas, chere dame Marie,
Le filz de Dieu de uous est né,
Ainsi que par la prophetie
Auoit esté déterminé.
Orgueil et felonnie
Si soit de nous bannie:

Car le uray filz de Dieu
 En humble compagnie,
 Mais de uertu garnie,
 Nasquit en poure lieu.

Here follows the annunciation to the shepherds, which is composed *sur le chant du second couplet extraict d'ung ancien Noel*. This is sung *sur le branle de, Iolyet est marie: avec une reprinse: et une queue sur le Gloria in excelsis Deo* (fol. C4 r^o). This song, which consists of six stanzas, begins thus:

Pasteurs, qui veillez aux champs,
 Oyez mes dicts, et mes chants:
 Je vous nonce la nouuelle
 Ioyeuse pour uous,
 Dieu est né d'une pucelle,
 Pour rachepter tous.
 Allez, et l'adorez à genoux:
Gloria in Excelsis Deo!

After this comes (fol. D r^o) *la uenue et adoration des pasteurs*, which is sung *sur le chant, Sonnez my doncq quand uous irez*. Heeding the words of the angel, the shepherds come to worship the Infant Jesus. The first shepherd presents Him *un quartier de formaige*, the second his *bouteille d'eau*, and the third his *flaiol si bel*. This song, with which no doubt the edition of 1537 ended, consists of four stanzas, the first two of ten verses each, and the last two of nine.

It is true that this play does not reveal any profound poetical inspiration on the part of the author. But at the same time we must not fail to remember that it was composed for the pupils of the college. Aneau inaugurated in this institution the custom of giving plays at Christmas or at the end of the school year. "Mais ce n'était," says M. Brouchoud,²⁷ "pour les élèves chargés d'interpréter les rôles, que des exercices littéraires auxquels ils se livraient sous les yeux de leurs parents." But, as the same author remarks, these compositions of Aneau were the origin of the "véritables représentations dramatiques" that were given later when the college was directed by the Jesuits. We have already noted that the *My-*

²⁷ *Les Origines du Théâtre de Lyon*, Lyons, 1865, pp. 24-25.

stère was sung as well as acted by the children. For this reason, M. Demogeot considers it as "la première idée de nos opéra comiques," or, adds M. Delandine, "mieux, de nos vaudevilles."²⁸

If the *Mystère de la Nativité* was the first work to be published in French by Aneau, his first Latin effort appeared the following year, 1538, among the epigrams of Gilbert Ducher. This poet, who was then teaching in the Collège de la Trinité, held his colleague Aneau in very high esteem. In an epigram addressed to him, Ducher speaks of the broad scholarship and versatility of his friend:

Doctrinae, encyclopaediam quod unus
Perfectam efficias, et absolutam:
Non iniuria es Anulus uocatus.

And Ducher closes the epigram by exclaiming:

. . si quis inter omnes,
Dignus Castalio choro uideris,
Orator bonus, et bonus poëta:
Si quisquam esse potest mihi, absque suco,
Orator bonus, et bonus poëta.²⁹

To this Aneau replies in characteristic style, admitting modestly that he is unworthy of the encomium given him:

Est oratio, Socrati disertus
Quam scripsit Lysias periclitanti.
Hanc certè esse bonam, tamen recusans
Haudquaquam sibi conuenire, dixit.
De me sic tua, Ducheri poëta,
Valde encomia censeo bona esse,
Agnosco mihi non tamen quadrare,
Agnosco tibi conuenire: qui sis
Orator bonus, et bonus poëta.
Summam proinde tibi remitto laudem,
Multis quam cumulare nolo uerbis:

²⁸ Cf. *Lyon ancien et moderne*, 1838-43, I, 414; Delandine, *Cat. de la Bibliothèque de Lyon*; E. Vingtrinier, *Le Théâtre à Lyon avant Molière*, *Lyon-Revue*, IV, pp. 104, etc.; Frères Parfaict, III, p. 43.

²⁹ Gilberti Ducherii . . . *Epigrammaton Libri Duo* . . . apud Seb. Gryphium, Lugduni, 1538, 8vo, p. 133.

Ne sit uisa manum manus fricare.
 De me tu quod, amice, mentiaris:
 Est candor tuus, integra et uoluntas:
 Consultor malus hoc amor suasit.
 Qualem me facis ipse, non enim sum,
 Orator bonus, et bonus poëta.³⁰

One of the most intimate friends of Aneau at Lyons was the famous printer, Etienne Dolet. In 1539 Dolet published his well-known history of the reign of Francis I, to which many of his friends contributed commendatory verses. Among them we may mention, besides our poet, Jean Raynier and Guillaume Durand, both former professors in the Collège de la Trinité. Aneau remained a firm friend of the irascible Dolet throughout all his misfortunes, and in the epigram contributed to this volume he does not conceal his admiration for the scholarly printer:

Musas, quae canerent gestarum encomia rerum
 Vera, Themistocli perplacuisse ferunt.
 Sed stupidus non est mage Graeco Principe Gallus:
 Et nec ab affectu Rex alienus erit.
 Sic (ubi cognorit tua carmina) spero, Dolete,
 Augustum tibi, te illi fore Vergilium.³¹

The same year (1539), Dolet published a curious volume in honor of the birth of his son, Claude Dolet,³² whom, notwithstanding the eulogies of the friends of his father, fate has consecrated to oblivion. Among the numerous laudatory poems found at the beginning of this work, there is one by Aneau, consisting of seventy-four Latin hexameters. As this is, so far as we know, the first serious effort of Aneau, we may pause for a moment to analyze it.

The poet begins by calling upon his Muse to sing genethliac verse,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³¹ *Francisci Valesii Gallorum Regis Fata . . . Stephano Doletto . . . autore, Lugduni, 1539, p. 78, 4to, Bibl. nat., Réserve mYc111.*

³² *Genethliacum Claudii Doleti Stephani Doleti filii . . . Autore Patre . . . Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum, 1539, 4to, Bibl. nat., Rés. mYc776.* This work was translated the same year by Dolet under the title, *L'Avant-Naissance de Claude Dolet*, Dolet, Lyons, 1539, pp. 46.

Musa Genethliacos, mea Musula, dicere versus
Incipe, vt infantis primordia laeta canamus.²³

But as he does not know whether the child is a boy or a girl, "*si puerum canitis*," he says, "*puer est hic carmine dignus*," but, on the contrary, if it be a girl, "may the sacred lips of the Virgin Minerva give her the virginal auspices of light." Comparing Dolet to Cicero, the poet exclaims: "Of the second Tullius a second happier progeny, another image of the second Cicero is born." "*Iam*," he continues, "*noua progenies magno generata Dolet*."

Pulcher Apollo presided at the birth of the child as a token of a glorious life. "May the three Graces," says Aneau, addressing the new-born babe, "and the nine Muses be thy companions; and from thee, frail boy or perhaps girl, may the Goddesses, the three Divinities of the Universe, be nowhere absent." Venus has granted to the handsome body, not a vulgar form, but one by which it shall be a Helen or another Nereus.

The poet then calls upon Pallas to take the child under her protection and to teach it *sapientia verba, factaque fortia*. But if Nature has made of it a girl, *virgo pudicitiam Pallas conseruet honestam*, so that she will surpass the chaste Penelope and yet live to a better fate than Lucretia. While the skillful Minerva will teach her to paint the texture with the needle to such a point that the Lydian Arachne will yield to her in the Phrygian work.—"But if thou be a boy, *O Sperate Puer*," says the poet, "*eris alter et ipse Doletus, tuque Doletus eris, quo non facundior alter*." Then shall they pour rhetorical flowers upon his cradle, and he shall drink with his milk from the fountain of eloquence.

Symbolizing Science by the Constellation of the Goat—*Sydus Olenium*—the poet adds that "she shall press against thy lips her breasts filled with the milk with which she nourished Jove, her *gratum alumnus*." And the horn of Amaltheia—*κέρας Ἀμαλθίας*—shall offer itself to the child filled with both fruits and flowers, while the *Apes Platonis*, bearing the sweetest tokens of eloquence, will instill into its mouth their dewy honey.

When the child shall learn to read, he shall begin to study the eulogies of the heroes and the writings of his father; and "when

²³ *Ibid.*, C3 r° and v°; and C4 r°.

thou shalt have embraced the career of a full-grown man," says Aneau to the son of Dolet, "thou shalt see heroes gather about thy father, and with thy parental virtues thou shalt complete the cycle of learning." Finally, addressing Dolet himself, the poet exclaims: "Such fate, *Divine Dolete*, do the wool-weaving sisters promise by their immutable law."

Ergo nouo partu mater perfuncta dolore,
Post vbi longa nouem dederint fastidia menses,
Gaudeat, et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.

This poem, strewn with souvenirs of classical authors—in accordance with the custom of the time—and written in the strange, but pleasing, Latin of the early Sixteenth Century, is not entirely without original inspiraion. True, it is not the inspiration of a great poet, but it is indeed more profound than that of the ordinary versifier of this period. These verses reveal, to a certain degree, the versatility and breadth of learning of this professor of rhetoric.

A friend of Aneau, Claude Bigothier, who also taught in the Collège de la Trinité, published in 1540 a very curious epic in which he discloses the source of his profound erudition. According to Bigothier, Claude de Cublize, principal of this college, and Aneau are two remarkable men. In truth, the latter is a gift of the gods—*Anulus*, he says, *alter enim linguae communis Mercurius, caelo nobis delapsus ab alto*. Aneau is, in addition, an indefatigable worker, *cujus inexhausti numquam finita laboris perdurat virtus, studiis indefessa voluptas*. He reads and composes, and *verbis hortatur et urget*. He reproves incessantly the lazy and curbs the over-ambitious—*nec sinit ignavos vigilans torpere tyrones*. He teaches constantly what is best for the youthful mind—*optima docet statim*. Under the direction of such a master, pupils do not become *asinos, sturnosve sono picasque loquaces*, but, on the contrary, *homines sermone disert*. To what does Aneau owe these exceptional powers? The answer is only too obvious, says Bigothier, it is merely because he eats turnips! We may be astonished at such an answer, but all our doubts are dispelled when Bigothier informs

us that the protector of the turnip is Apollo, the same god who protects learning.³⁴

In 1539, Aneau published under the title *Chant natal*, a second edition of the *Mystère de la Nativité* with additional songs.³⁵ This little volume begins (v° of title) with a prelude which is addressed by *B. Aneau à ses disciples*. In the margin are two verses from the Psalms,³⁶ which form the motif of this introductory song. The poet commences by exhorting the children:

Louez Enfans, le seigneur, et son nom :
 Les chants qu'a uous ie dedie, chantants
 Chants, mais quelz chants, de Poësie? Non,
 Mais chants Natalz, que requis ha le temps :
 Car des enfans, et petitz allaictants
 Dieu par leur bouche ha parfaict sa louange.
 Et tout esprit celestial, ou ange
 Chante avec uous de l'enfant la naissance
 Qui faire uient de Dieu a l'homme eschange,
 Donnant a uous, et a tous innocence.

We remark at once that Aneau has made use of some of the rhyming tricks of the old rhetorical school, from the shackles of which poetry had not yet freed itself. Even Marot did not entirely overcome the influence of his early training, while Jean Bouchet was continuing, as far as his limited powers would permit, the traditions of the school of Crétin.

³⁴ *Rapina seu Raporum encomium*, 1540, edition of Brossard, Bourg-en-Bresse, 1891, p. 116. Both of these editions are now very rare. According to Brossard, the *rapa* of Bigothier is the *Brassica rapa* (Species 931) of Linnaeus, which is the same as our turnip. Antoine du Pinet, in his curious translation of Pliny (*L'Histoire du Monde de C. Pline Second* . . . Lyons, Claude Senneton, 1562 and 1566, fol., cf. Baudrier, *Bibliogr. lyonnaise*, VII, pp. 429 and 441), states that the Greeks, "voulans faire présent de bons jardinaiges à Apollo delifique feirent le reffort d'or, la poirée d'argent et la rave de plomb," and furthermore that "Dioclès fait grant cas de la Rave et affirme à plus qu'elle rend l'homme gentil compaignon auprès les dames.

³⁵ *Chant Natal contenant sept Noels, ung chant Pastoural, et ung chant Royal, avec ung Mystere de la Natiuité, par personnages. Composez en imitation uerbale et musicale de diuerses chansons. Recueillis sur l'escripture sainte, et d'icelle illustrez. Apud Seb. Gryphum Lugduni*, 1539. Small 4to of 15 unnumbered leaves and 1 leaf for the mark of Gryphe. Round letters. *Bibl. nat., Réserve*, Ye, 782. Very rare.

³⁶ *Laudate pueri dominum, laudate nomen domini*. Psal. 112. *Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem*. Psal. 8.

The first personage who comes upon the stage is the Soul, who sings a *noel ou chant spirituel a Iesus Christ, confessant la macule et laidure de son peché: et la purgation d'icelluy en la grace de Dieu, et au sang de Iesus Christ*. This *noel* is composed, *tant en la letre que en la musique*, in imitation of Marot's, *Pourtant si ie suys brunette*. It consists of five stanzas of which the first is as follows (fol. A2 r^o):

Pourtant si ie suys brunete
Par peché noire d'esmoy,
Dieu m'a faicte blanche, et nete,
Arrouasant son sang sur moy.
L'Ange clair damné ie uoy,
Des blanches essences l'une,
Qui fussent dessus la Lune.
Doncq' au contre Lucifer:
Mieulx uault blanchir estant brune,
Que noircir blanche en enfer.

The second *noël* is composed *en suite de la Royale chanson, Douce memoire, en uoix et parolle, reduisant en memoire a la pensée Chrestienne, le benefice de Dieu enuers l'homme*. The first of the five stanzas composing this song begins thus (fol. A3 r^o):

Douce memoire en plaisir consommée,
O siecle heureux, qui cause tel sçavoir:
Natiuité de Dieu tant reclamée, etc.

In the third *noel* the poet has imitated the song, *Content desir, protestant le desir de Dieu a rachapter l'homme et le contentement de l'homme esperant en la Natiuité de Iesus Christ*. This song, consisting of five stanzas of four verses each, has the following opening lines (A4 r^o):

Content desir, qui cause tout bonheur,
Heureux sçavoir qui tout esprit renforce:
O forte amour, qui rend enfer sans force,
Donnant secours a peine et a douleur.

Next comes a *noel* composed on the song, *C'est une dure departie, declarant diuers departements d'essence et lieux, appartenants a la Natiuité de nostre seigneur Iesus Christ. Et admonestant du*

dernier depart de ceste uie humaine. Of the five stanzas of this song, the last is the most characteristic:

C'est une dure departie
De l'ame et du corps forfaitteur,
Le corps tourne en terre amortie,
L'ame au uouloir de son facteur:
Mais né est le médiateur
De Dieu et de la creature:
Parquoy chantons au Redempteur
Noel, pour sa bonne adventure (fol. B 1^o).

The fifth *noël* is also in imitation of Marot, *sur la lettre, et le chant de la chanson: J'ay le desir content, tesmoignant l'esperance des mortelz contentée, par plenitude de grace enuoyée de Dieu par son filz Iesus Christ conceu du saint esprit, et né de la Vierge.* The last of the five stanzas composing this song is as follows (B1 v^o and B2 1^o):

J'ay le desir content, et mon temps absolu,
Dist le ueil Symeon de poil chanu uelu,
En tenant Iesuschrist enfant en sa brassée:
Ainsi nous, qui croyons sa naissance passée,
Ayons desir content. Et tant que l'air en tonne
Chescun de nous Noel a haulte uoix entonne.

This series of *noels*, sung each by a pupil, is followed by a *chant pastoural, en forme de Dialogue, a trois bergiers, et une bergiere, contenant l'annonciation de l'ange aux pasteurs, la departie d'iceulx pour aller ueoir l'enfant, et l'adoration.* This is composed *sur le chant, et le uerbe de: Vous perdez temps.* The first shepherd, Rogelin, scolds his comrades for wasting time in song and dance when they should be on their way to worship the Son of God (B2 1^o):

Vous perdez temps, pasteurs et pastourelle,
Corner, muser, cornemuse meschante
Tant de plaisir n'aurez pas autour elle,
Comme a l'oiseau du ciel qui lassus chante.
Que le filz de Dieu naisce:
A uostre aduis rien n'est-ce?

N'est-ce rien de sa grace
 Laissez moy ceste garce
 Seule dancer la belle tire lire.
 Et me suyuez courans tous d'une tire.

The Angel appears and Raguel, the second shepherd shouts:

Voy qu'est cela? C'est ung homme qui uole,
 Iamais oyseau n'eut tel langaige en caige.

Ruben, the third shepherd, admits:

Oncq' Perrucquet n'eut si bonne parolle,
 Et le Phoenix n'a point si beau plumaige.

But the wise Rogelin assures them that this is the messenger of God, and says to the companions: *Allon ou il nous mande*. So they depart. But Raguel finds the night rather cold:

Ceste nuit est bien froide
 Mais il fault courir roide
 Pour s'eschauffer sans robe, ou hoppelande.

Pren ton flaiol, says Ruben to Rogelin, *et y fuble*; and thus they reach the city. Addressing the shepherdess—who is called Rachel—Raguel exclaims:

Sus doncq' bergiere habile,
 Nous sommes a la uille.
 Je uoy le filz, la mere.
 Voy la belle commere
 Et le bon hom' tous trois en une grange.

At the command of Rogelin, they begin to worship *l'aigneau qui toult tous les pechez du monde*. Raguel then remarks that:

Il gist tout nud sans drap de soye, ou laine,
 Le petit filz en une pource creiche.

To this Rachel replies:

L'asne et le bœuf l'eschauffent de l'aleine:
 Au moins s'il eust ung peu de paille fresche.

The shepherds are in doubt as to what offering they should make the child, when Rogelin closes the pastoral by saying:

Mais donnon luy nous mesme:
 Garde n'aura nous simples esconduire:
 Ie le uoy bien: car il s'en prend a rire.

Another *noël* is intercalated between this pastoral and the *Mystère*. This one is entitled *Noel branlant* and is composed *sur la chanson, Barptolemy mon bel amy*. In the margin is inserted the Biblical passage, *Rubeni violens filium meum*, which furnishes the theme of the song. The first of the six stanzas of this song is thus conceived (B4 r°):

Hau Rubeny, mon bel amy,
 Vien si tu me ueulx croire:
 Presque a demy, suys endormy,
 Oyant de Dieu la gloire:
 Clarté nous esclaire, claire,
 Clarté nous esclaire:
 C'est l'ange messaige saige,
 C'est l'ange messaige.

The poet probably failed to express himself clearly here, for we do not believe he intended to say that sleep is synonymous with spiritual rapture. At any rate, this is not usually the case. Another stanza contains several of the rhyming tricks of the dead rhetorical school:

O Dieu, qui *feis* ce petit *filz*
 D'éternité profonde
 Ie *creu si feis*, que *crucifix*
 Il seroit pour le monde:
 Sa mere fut *munde* au monde
 Sa mere fut *munde*
 Ainsi le fault *croire, uoire*,
 Ainsi le fault *croire*.²⁷

After the *Mystère* and the adoration of the shepherds, which we have already discussed, there is (D v°) a *chant Royal a six Roys: fait par huictains pour la suyte de la chanson, sur laquelle il est fait, qui est: Si mon trauail, contenant la prophetie du Roy David: la dissimulation du Roy Herodes: l'adoration et oblation des troys Roys* (who are Balthasar, Jaspas and Melchior), *et au renuoy la grace du Roy Iesuschrist*.

²⁷ Fol. B4 v° and C r°. The various cross-rhymes are intentionally italicized.

The last *noel* of the volume—entitled *Noel mystic* and composed on the song, *Le dueil yssu*—is especially interesting because of the references in it to Lyons (*le grand Lyon*), to Villiers (*uy lier*), to the author (Aigneau), and to the well-known printer, Sébastien Gryphe (Gryphon). For fear that the reader might overlook them, the poet has had these names carefully printed in the margin:

2

Noel, noel si hault que l'air en tonne,
Non l'homme seul, mais tout animant dict
Le grand Lyon son gros organ entonne,
Noel, noel, à haulte uoix bondit,
Vng chant plaisant fondé sur ung bon dict
Le Rossignol uy lier par accords,
Et ung Aigneau bailant luy respondit,
Noel chantant, et à criz et à cors.

3

Le Gryphon d'or y ha planté sa gryphe
Et maint noel engraué par escript:
Pour demonstrier, que point n'est apocryphe,
Tout ce qui est chanté de Iesuschrist:
Tout animant, tout homme, tout esprit
Donne louange à cest enfant nouuel:
Parquoy chantons le chant que nous apprit
L'ange du ciel noel, noel, noel.

The volume closes with a *pièce de circonstance*, a literary genre for which Aneau, as we shall show later, displayed a special aptitude. This is a *dixain de la uenue de Iesus-christ, et de Charles le quint, Empereur, uenu en France, l'an 1539*, and is as follows:

Il uiendra tost, il uient, il est uenu.
Qui? l'Empereur, le Roy, le grand Seigneur.
Sus: qu'on luy face (ainsi qu'on est tenu)
Entrée, et dons, feuz de ioye, et honneur.
Qui est celluy? est-ce point l'Empereur
Venu en France? est-ce Charles d'Austriche?
Nenny, nenny, c'est bien ung aultre riche.
De beaucoup plus, et plus haulte maison:
C'est l'aigneau doulx, simple, sans fraude ou triche.
Charles n'en ha sinon que la toison.

It is obvious that, in his first work, Aneau is greatly indebted to his master, Clément Marot, for the form of his poems, as well as the inspiration. No more than Marot is he capable of a work *de haute envergure*. He has the same conversational style, and, as we shall see, excels in the *pièce de circonstance*. But before discussing further Aneau as a poet, let us consider for a moment the teacher.

III

We have considered elsewhere the vicissitudes suffered by the Collège de la Trinité during the administration of its fourth principal, Claude de Cublize,³⁸ how, in particular, notwithstanding the remarkable increase in the numbers of its students, it was allowed by the Echevins of Lyons only *trois membres* of the various *granges* which formerly belonged to the *Confrérie de la Trinité*.³⁹ The foundry of the royal artillery, which had occupied these buildings since 1516,—or three years before the school of the *Confrérie* was founded,—refused persistently to surrender any part of them for the use of the growing college.⁴⁰ As a result, some of the professors were obliged to conduct their classes in the house *vys à vys*, belonging to François Fornier and Claude Gravier. The noise from the foundry, which occasioned considerable difficulty in maintaining discipline, had no doubt much to do with the decline and fall of the administration of Cublize. Accordingly, on account of the *mauvaise versation et train qui se tenoit et faisoit au Collège*—a condition of affairs culminating in the murder of the regent de Bernod—Aneau was requested by the Echevins to take charge of the college and to draw up a *formulaire et institution* for its direction.⁴¹

On the fourth of May, 1540, Aneau presented to the Consulate

³⁸ Cf. *Revue de la Renaissance*, loc. cit., 1908, pp. 73-94; 1909, pp. 137-157 and 204-215.

³⁹ *Vidimus de l'acquit des deux mil vingt livres tourn. dues par le roy des granges de la Sainte Trinité* (Jan. 20, 1533-4), see Guigue: *Le Livre des Confrères de la Trinité de Lyon*, Lyons, 1898, p. 44.

⁴⁰ The above *vidimus* shows also that the royal foundry had not paid any rent for these buildings until Dec. 11, 1533, when Francis I ordered Anthoine Gondy, *receveur ordinaire de Lyonnais*, to pay 2,020 livres to Claude Gravier, notary and secretary of the Consulate, who had petitioned for this sum in behalf of the *paovres malades de l'hospital dud. Lyon*.

⁴¹ *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1909, pp. 150-3.

his formulary, which, to quote the words of the secretary, Claude Gravier, "il s'est offert entretenir selon sa forme et teneur, et pour ce faire aller expressément à Paris pour amener avec luy régentz propres et commodés à ce faire."⁴² The Echevins, on their part,

"après avoir bien et au long débatu de la matière, ont retenu ledict M^{re} Barthélemy Aignel pour principal dudict collège, aux actes, paches (*sic*) et conditions contenuz en ladicte institution, moyennant ce que ledict M^{re} Barthélemy a promis observer de point en point ladicte institution, et ce tant qu'il plaira audict consullat, et qu'il fera bien."

In the first section of his formulary, Aneau treats of the attributes of the principal: he should be scholarly and impartial, able to direct his regents and to inspire his pupils with love or fear as the occasion may require.

"Soit ordonné," he says, "pardessus tous un principal, homme de bonnes meurs, ayant ung sens commun et jugement sans suyvre ses privées affections; qui soit aussi de bonnes letres pour sçavoir discernir la qualité de ses régens et le devoir qu'ilz font vers leurs disciples. Lequel aussi estant docte sera plus révééré, crainct, et aymé, tant de ses régens que des escolliers, que s'il est inférieur à eulx ès choses susdites."

The principal must also be a man of both authority and dignity, otherwise he may be exposed to ridicule. Here no doubt Aneau is referring to the fact that the failure of his predecessors in the accomplishment of their duties was often caused by the improper interference of the Consulate. Let the principal, he continues, have authority,

"laquelle en partie luy peult estre donnée par messieurs les colateurs dudict collège qui sont messeigneurs les consulz de la ville, en partie le peult avoir de luy en composant son estat et maintien selon la dignité à luy donnée; car la dignité, adjoustée auctorité y accorde leur gravité, laquelle sans auctorité est ridicule, voire haineuse."

The next section deals with the regents. Of the first two Aneau requires broad scholarship. We see the effect of his training under

⁴² *Archives communales de Lyon, Registres consulaires*, BB58, vol. 61. It was from Paris that Aneau brought the poet Charles Fontaine to Lyons.

Wolmar and others in his predilection for the humanities and interpretation of authors. Let us quote his words:

"Ledit principal, quant au faict de l'institution littéraire de la jeunesse à luy commise, aye quatre bons régens, tant en meurs qu'en doctrine, desquelz le premier et second soient gens éloquens et sçavantz en deux langues: grecque et latine; en dialectique, les mathématiques et autres à ce requis, interpretation des autheurs et hommes de bonne tradition et bons jugemens."

The third regent must be, above all, an excellent teacher of secondary work, so as to give the children a good foundation.

"Le tiers," continues our author, "soit sçavant et propre en langue latine, bon gramairien pour fonder les enfans à celle fin que les premiers fondementz soient imbuz de sincère et propre doctrine, tellement que les enfans montans de classe en autre tous les ans au jour de la Saint Remy, selon la coustume parisienne, avec l'advis du principal, jugeant du proufit et l'avancement d'iceulx par compositions et interrogatoires, soient bien préparez par leurs premiers fondateurs à monter aux édificateurs."

But, as most of the pupils of the Collège de la Trinité were small children, Aneau lays particular stress on primary instruction. He first insists on the clear pronunciation of the primary teacher:

"Le quatriesme régent, que l'on dict icy bachelier, soit non ignorant, mais surtout bien accentuant et prononçant bien distinctement et articulement, pour la bonne lecture, accent et prononciation accoustumer dès le premier commencement qui tient à jamais la langue formable des enfans; pour laquelle chose faire plus commodement, attendu que c'est la principale partie de la bonne institution que la première forme et aussi que la plus grande partie des escoliers lionnois est de celle basse classe."

After learning their hours and the alphabet, the children must read books in French. This is an important fact, for by urging the teaching of French, Aneau, is paving the way for the Pléiade. He foresaw without doubt that French was destined to become the language of the schools. It was only a year or two before that the edict of Villers-Cotterets was issued, ordering all documents to be written in French; but most of the schools had not yet reserved a place for the mother tongue in their curriculum. Thus, in this re-

gard, Aneau is a pioneer, as well as in his attempt to improve the methods of instruction, which the following citation shows:

"Semble bon que tous les petitz enfans fussent apprenantz en heures et abcez de mesme usaige et semblablement abcez et livres en françoys de mesme histoire; les instruisans par telle manière que point ilz ne vinssent réciter leur leçon, l'ung après l'autre, à l'oreille du bachelier comme la coustume est, ont souvent le maistre dormant, ilz sont passez par la grosse estamine, mais sans bouger de leurs places; répétant à claire et haulte voix, distincte et articulée leur leçon, tous les aultres escoutant en grand silence."

The remainder of the class should correct the mistakes of the pupil who has recited; and in order to encourage them to do this, the teacher should award certain honors.

"Et sera permis aux aultres de la mesme leçon," continues Aneau, "escoutant le rendant, le reprendre s'il fault; et par celle reprehension leur sera quelque petite gloire adjugée par le précepteur, de laquelle ses petitz esperitz juveniz excités, seront plus ententifs à leur leçon et mieulx cognoissant leur faulte, tousiours soubz le jugement du précepteur." All of which is excellent pedagogy!

Each pupil is to recite his lesson during the hour; and as for the very small ones, the master should take them on his knee and gently encourage them to do the same:

"Ainsi répéteront tous l'ung après l'autre une briefve leçon mais bien entendue tant que durera une bonne heure à chacune entrée de classe. Pour lequel moien n'aura pas tant de peine le régent et les enfans, estude plus aleigre, les bien petitz qui encores ne pourront faire cella sans adresse du maistre, il les enseignera premièrement en son giron."

Realising the benefit derived from argumentation, Aneau reserves time for debates among the pupils both in the presence of their teachers, who are to act as judges, and later on, after dinner or supper, when no member of the faculty may be at hand. In this, of course, he adheres to the old scholastic method, which, as we now understand, was not without its advantages.

"L'ordre des leçons," he says, "sera tel que, à la généralité universele des venans et allans, sera leue ou répétée quatre fois le jour, chacune fois une bonne heure, sans les questions, où assiste-

ront les régentz jugeotans des controverses de leurs disciples; aux portionnistes seront faictes deux réparaisons d'avantage, après disner et après soupper, sans que particulièrement leurs régentz et pédagogues seront en chambre." Once a week there are to be inter-class debates, and a prize must be awarded to winners. "Item, une fois la sepmaine, qui sera le sabmedi, seront mises conclusions et disputations faictes de classe contre classe, pris proposé aux vainqueurs."

The next two articles show especially the influence of the theories advanced by Rabelais some six or seven years before. Here, indeed, Aneau is far in advance of the spirit of his times. He points out, first, how the pupil shall use advantageously his leisure hours; and, then, how his games shall be organized for the purpose of instruction. It is interesting to note the high consideration which this teacher has for his profession, even in its minutest details, differing essentially from Peletier du Mans, who, on the contrary, was inclined to regard it with disdain.⁴³

"Au lieu de jouer le mardy, qui seroit jeu trop fréquent, ilz composeront toute l'après disner et rendront leurs compositions qui seront émandées au lieu de leçon, et les petitz escriront exemples. Le jedy, après disner, auront depuis la réparation jusques à la dernière leçon, l'espace de trois heures, lesquelles ilz employeront en toutes manières de jeux libéraux que leur prescripront mesmes leurs maistres et régentz, comme à jeuz de nombre, de pelotes et balles, à jeux de perciee, à chanter en musique, à certains gectz de pierres ou pièces de boys où seront entallées les lectres grecques et latines, battaillant les uns contre les autres; et ainsi en jeux mesmes apprendront, en ostant tous villains jeux caignardiers de perte ou de dangier; et aucunes fois seront menez au champs par beau temps."

And to think these are not the theories of a Rabelais or a Montaigne, but the actual methods of an educator!

The following paragraph discloses the humanist, esteeming Greek above all, as well as the patriot who dares to protest against the obsolete methods of the scholiasts, still in vogue in the majority of the schools of France.

"Tant en jeu que hors jeu," he says, "sera non pas du chef, mais de la diverse partie, parler autre langue que grecque ou latine,

⁴³ Clément Jugé, *Jacques Peletier du Mans*, Paris, 1907, p. 41.

sinon ès bien petitz enfans, lesquels vault mieulx qu'ilz parlent bon lionnois que de s'accoustumer à mauveys et barbare latin, qui jamais ne se fracinerait. Et est une très mauvaise chose en toutes escolles jusques à ce qu'ilz ayent aprins en escoutant les bien parlans; et mieulx vouldroit que par aucun temps ilz tinsent le silence pitagoric que se enhardir à parler latin corrompu."

However, those who are able to speak Latin or Greek should be obliged to do so.

"Aux autres qui pourront et sçauront parler latin ou grec sera ordonné reigle, non seulement de latinité ou grécisme, mais aussi de plus éloquement parler l'un que l'autre. Et aussi des meurs comme de jugement, injure, deffault, et semblables. En laquelle reigle seront notables et comptables par censure escolastique."

In the next section, Aneau outlines the duties of the principal. According to his conception, the principal is a sort of director, resembling to a certain extent the modern college president. He is not to conduct any particular course, but must take, from time to time, the classes of his regents in order to find out if they have proper discipline and are doing satisfactory work. This is exceptional for the time, inasmuch as the principal was usually nothing more than a professor.

"Le principal," says Aneau, "pour donner ordre à son réconomie ne fera point de leçon certaine, mais tous les jours en fera une telle qu'il voudra choisir aucune foys la grande, aucune foys la moindre, aucune foys la moyenne, selon son arbitre, en envoyant esbatre le régent duquel il fera la leçon; car en ce faisant, il tiendra ses disciples en crainte révérentielle et les régentz en leur devoir, craignant que à l'improveu ilz ne soient surprins malversant en leur office. Aussi pourra faire ledict principal les jours de feste une leçon publicque de quelque bon autheur de haulte gresse.

Aneau appreciated the spirit of the truism, *mens sana in corpore sano*, whether or not he was acquainted with the signification that we are now accustomed to give to the celebrated maxim. For that reason he inserts a paragraph concerning the nourishment of his pupils, which is as interesting as it is unusual.

"Quant à l'oeconomie et nourriture des enfans," he continues, "ilz seront nourriz souffisamment et plus honnestement que superfluellement, et entretenuz nectement, tant pour l'éducation que pour

la faulte. Pour laquelle chose faire n'y aura point de femmes; car c'est une poste en ung colliege; mais ung bon proviseur ou dispensieur, ung cuysinier net et rez de tout poil avec ongles; et deux marmitons à faire les lictz, servir à table, et laver la vaisselle."

Finally, with two more items—one which concerns the protection of the pupils, and the other their conduct in public—Aneau brings his interesting formulary to a close.

"Item, ung portier à garder une seulle porte qui sera la porte moyenne de l'alée vers rue Neuve en droict de la court du puy, auquel lieu fauldra édifier une petite loge audict portier à la mode de Paris par les fenestres de la première classe, et aussi veoir les allans et venans. Aux actes publicques, comme allant à la messe, au sermon, en procession, mettre ledict principal si bon ordre avec ses régens que les disciples, estans exposez aux yeulx du publicq, ne causeront ny scandelle ne deshonneur." And he closes with these words: "A l'ayde de Dieu, donateur de toutes graces."

After reading this remarkable document, we can easily understand why Aneau was so highly esteemed by the Echevins of Lyons, in spite of the attacks of his implacable enemies. Only two months later, Charles de Sainte-Marthe—*Sarmatanis*—who was then a regent in the Collège de la Trinité, "est venu au présent Consulat exhiber certains articles contenans la forme de régir et gouverner ledict coliege." The Consulate ordered him "le conférer avec les articles qu'a baillés M^{re} Barthélemy Aneau."⁴⁴

For twenty-one years, with slight interruptions, Aneau remained at the head of the Collège de la Trinité and enjoyed the respect of his students and the esteem of the Consulate until his death. After that, the Echevins were careful to insert in their contract with the Jesuits, to whose care the college was then confided, many of the articles of the above formulary. Whatever may be our opinion of Aneau as a poet, we must confess our frank admiration for him as a scholar and educator. He devoted his greatest efforts to the development of the college and to the instruction of his students, who remained faithful to him until the end.

(To be continued.)

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⁴⁴ *Archives communales de Lyon*, BB58, fol. 88. For Sainte-Marthe, see the scholarly thesis of Dr. C. Ruutz-Rees, Columbia Univ. Press, 1910.

MISCELLANEOUS

DANTE: PURGATORIO XIII, 49 ff.:

E poi che fummo un poco più avanti,
Udi' gridar: *Maria, ora per noi,*
Gridar: *Michele, e Pietro, e tutti i santi.*

Dante, on his way through the second circle of Purgatory, that of the envious, encounters souls who utter the words italicized above, words which form their prayer addressed to the Virgin Mary, to the Archangel Michael, to St. Peter and to all the Saints. It has generally been assumed that the words are part of the Litany of the Saints. Thus Scartazzini (Leipzig ed. of the *Purgatorio*) gives the note: "queste anime cantano le litanie de' Santi, nelle quali all' invocazione di Maria si fa succedere quella dell' Arcangelo Michele. . . . Le anime che qui piangono l'invidia, hanno in dispregio i miseri spartimenti delle eredità terrene, pensano alla celeste eredità partecipata, e non diminuita, da' figliuoli di Dio, e a tutti i possessori di quella eredità si raccomandano amorosamente colle *Litanie de' Santi*," etc. Scartazzini, following Perez (*Sette Cerchi*, p. 146), is interpreting the present passage in view of a later one, *Purgatorio* XV, 49 ff., which deals with the idea that through community of enjoyment the amount of heavenly bliss is not in any way diminished. Now, it seems just a trifle far-fetched to find any necessary connection between these two passages. Of course there is no reason why the penitent souls in this circle should not, in their prayers, call upon all the holy inhabitants of Heaven for aid; the *Litany of the Saints* is still one of the penances often enjoined in the Confessional upon penitents, and the prayer is no more out of place here than are, in other places of the *Purgatorio*, the *Misere* (V, 24), the *Salve Regina* (VII, 82), the *Te lucis ante* (VIII, 13), the *Te Deum Laudamus* (IX, 140), the Paraphrase of the *Lord's Prayer* (XI, 1), etc. But is it not a natural thing to suppose that the souls may simply be repeating here the second half of the *Confiteor*: "there-

fore I beseech the *blessed Mary* ever Virgin, the blessed *Michael* the archangel, the blessed John the Baptist, the holy apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, and *all the saints*, to pray to the Lord our God for me"? The words actually uttered by the souls form a large part of the second half of the *Confiteor*; they form a very small part of the *Litany of the Saints*. It should be said that Torraca and Casini accept the explanation given also by Scartazzini. Perhaps, however, it is not amiss to raise the question.

J. D. M. FORD.

NOTE ON THE FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN RUMANIAN

UNDER this title Mr. E. H. Tuttle published in *Modern Philology*, July, 1909, pp. 23-25, an article dealing with the derivation of Rumanian *sută*, the origin of the Rumanian supine, and the treatment of the group *sc*. The fact is interesting, indicating as it does that Rumanian, the Cinderella of the Romance tongues, is beginning to receive her share of attention on the part of American philologists. However, as is natural with a new subject and one which requires a preparation quite different from that of the average Romance scholar, the chances for error are numerous. Mr. Tuttle tells us, for instance, that Albanian "counts even tens as scores," whereas this is not the case, cf. Gegic *n'izet*, Kater θ et, gašt θ et, etc. Again, Mr. Tuttle would explain *sută* < Old Bulgarian *sŭto*, thru a form **sotă*, whose *o* would have changed to *u* in the same way as Latin *o* gives Rumanian *u*. The parallel is inexact, for most words showing *u* for Latin *o* are either explained by Vulgar Latin forms in *u*, or else have undergone the influence of analogy. At any rate **sotă*, could only have given **soată*, not *sută*. I do not think that *cumătru*, to which I suppose Mr. Tuttle refers when he writes "there is at least one other case when it [Slavic *ŭ*] makes *u*," is in exactly the same situation as *sută*. Its *u* may be due to the influence of Bulgarian *kumă*, *kuma*¹ (with which compare *kupetra*) and not unlikely also that of Rumanian *cuscu*, *cusurin*. Moreover, modern Rumanian knows only the accentuation *cumă'tru* while the *u* in *sută* is stressed.

The reason why Meyer-Lübke (as also Miklosich, Ascoli and

¹ Densuşianu, *Hist. de la langue roumaine*, I, 275.

Gustav Meyer²) has rejected the derivation of *sută* from Old Slavonic *sŭto* is obvious: the form we should in all likelihood expect in the case of a regular phonetic development would be *stă'u* (with the loss of *ŭ*, cf. the common Slavic *sto*, and the same treatment of *o* as in Hungarian *to'* > Rumanian *tău*. Even the atonic form of the Slavic word for hundred (Bulgarian *dvě'astea*, *tri'sta*, *če'tiristo-*) does not help much to explain Rumanian *sută*, as the insertion of *u* and the change of accent in the Rumanian word would still remain unexplained.

In the note on the supine Mr. Tuttle thinks that Jensen's theory of an Albanian influence is "far fetched" in spite of the fact that the so-called supine is preceded by *de*, Albanian *per*, and that these two prepositions present a most remarkable parallel. His drawing into the argument the Old Bulgarian infinitive is misleading, as the Bulgarian and Rumanian infinitives have not the same syntax. The great majority of Bulgarian participles end in *nŭ*, thus rendering, even on Mr. Tuttle's ground, more unlikely the otherwise improbable influence of the Bulgarian past passive participle. The whole question is not so much one of phonetic influence as one of comparative syntax.

It is not so certain that the change *šč* > *st* is due to Slavic influence, though this is possible. This change affects the inherited Latin, but on the other hand we do not find it so generally followed in Rumanian formations like *cășcioară*.³ Meyer-Lübke regards the preservation of *šč* besides *št* as dialectal. If the change of *šč* to *št* were due to Slavic influence, we should expect for it the same prevalence as, for instance, of the change of initial *e* to *ie*. *Adhuc sub iudice lis est*.

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² G. Meyer, *Alban. Studien*, II, 12; Ascoli in *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, Suppt. II (1895), 132. Ascoli's contention that the form *insutit*, with *t*, proves *sută* of Ante-Roman origin does not bear examination, as *t* is preserved also in *inșeptit*, cf. *inșesit*.

³ Tiktin in Gröber's *Grundriss*⁴ I, no. 98, p. 447; no. 115, p. 448.

MANTUA = MADRID

IN Juan Nicasio Gallego's ode, *El dos de Mayo*, the third stanza reads as follows:

¡ Ay, que cual débil planta
Que agota en su furor hórrido viento,
De víctimas sin cuento
Lloró la destrucción Mantua afligida!
Yo ví, yo ví su juventud florida
Correr inerme al huésped ominoso.
¿ Mas qué su generoso
Esfuerzo pudo? El pérfido caudillo
En quien su honor y su defensa fia,
La condenó al cuchillo.
¿ Quién ¡ay! la alevosía,
La horrible asolación habrá que cuente,
Que, hollando de amistad los santos fueros,
Hizo furioso en la indefensa gente
Ese tropel de tigres carniceros?

A recent editor comments on Mantua (1.4) in these words: "The Italian town of this name was taken by Napoleon in 1797, after a famous siege." True, but why should Gallego devote the greater part of his poem to the harrowing details of an Italian siege (granted that his words could possibly apply to a siege) when he is supposed to be writing about a well-known insurrection in Madrid? Mantua is, of course, the poetical name of the Spanish Capital. In the Romantic period there was a journal published at Madrid called *El Mantuano Guerrero*, and in our own times we have a worthy successor of *Figaro* who is pleased to style himself *El Bachiller Mantuano* (Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín). Mira de Amescua, in *La hija de Carlos Quinto* (Act II), explains the origin of such an appellation as follows—those who prefer sober prose may turn to a discussion of the matter in Mesonero Romanos' *El antiguo Madrid* (pp. iii-iv):

Esta opinión desde Grecia
entre otros hizo venir

en Babilonios de leños (*sic*),
 del mal errante pensil,
 á vno, hijo de Tiberio,
 Rey de los Latinos, y
 de la celebrada Monta, (Manto)
 por quien se vino á dezir
 Mantua, nombre que mudaron
 los Bárbaros en Madrid . . .

As a bibliographical curiosity (in my possession), attention may be called here to an English version of *El dos de Mayo: The second of May. An elegy. Translated from the Spanish of Don J. N. Gallego. Into English verse. By William Casey, Philomath. Land-Surveyor, late Professor of English at the College of Mahon. . . . Dedicated to his scholar El Señor Don Juan Evangelista de Erro. Barcelona: By John Pferrer, Royal Printer. 1819 (8 pp.)*. As an example of the work produced by the pedestrian muse of this land-surveyor and professor of English, I quote his translation of the stanza printed above:

As tender plants parch'd by an Artic breeze,
 Which in its fury quivers rocks and trees,
 Such *Mantua* in her num'rous offspring sees.
 I saw, I did, her florid youth assail
 Th'ominous Guest; but what did it avail?
 Unarm'd they ran to work the gen'rous deed:
 The guilty leader them condemn'd to bleed.
 His word of honour and defence they nurs'd,
 He tender'd all; then how could they but trust?
 Who can depict, what pen can ever trace
 The direful havoc which that bloody race
 Made in defenceless people, who behold
 The hungry wolf amid the timid fold?

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

The Decameron: its Sources and Analogues. By A. C. LEE. London, David Nutt, 1909. 8vo, pp. xvi + 363.

Boccaccio and his Imitators in German, English, French, Spanish, and Italian Literature: "The Decameron." By FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE JONES, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Illinois. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1910. Quarto, pp. iv, 46.

When so much has been done in recent years in the collecting, sifting, and categorizing of folk-tales, a tempting task for the student of comparative literature is to devote a book to the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio, in which each story could be taken as the kernel of an investigation of the particular theme to which it belongs. This would afford an opportunity to show at once Boccaccio's artistic treatment of his material, and the influence of his work as a source of literary inspiration. Such a study would imply a wide first-hand acquaintance with the literature of folk-lore; an equally wide acquaintance with Occidental literature, medieval and modern; and a familiarity with the results of the investigation of a variety of literary problems, to which scholars, in fields as widely removed as Romance, Germanic, Semitic and Slavic philology have contributed their share.

Not one of these requirements seems to be possessed by the author of *The Decameron; Its Sources and Analogues*. His "List of Principal Works Referred To" contains nothing but a few of the obvious standard works, collections or investigations, devoted to storiology, in which the names of Köhler, Cosquin, Rajna and Vesselofsky are noticeable by their absence. To note the sins of omission in the body of the work would call for a book in itself; while a correction of the sins of commission would demand another supplementary volume. Effective use could have been made of the works, known to Mr. Lee, but what the reader of the book finds is nothing but the indiscriminate contents of a commonplace-book, in which discredited authorities are cited at second hand, antiquated editions quoted, and analogues referred to, which have nothing to do with the story under discussion; in short, a collection of unconnected notes, more confusing than informing. A very few samples will show Mr. Lee's small acquaintance with either the methods or results of modern scholarship. He knows nothing further about Benvenuto da Imola's commentary on the *Divina Commedia*, than the passages cited in Manni's *Istoria del Decamerone*, and the translation of Tambrini, i. e., Tamburini (3, 23, 179), being quite ignorant of the worthlessness of the Italian translation, and of Lacaita's edition of the Latin text. The *Gesta Romanorum*, probably compiled in England about the year 1300 is "a work ascribed to Petrus Berchorius, a Benedictine prior who died at Paris 1362" (7). The author of the Latin *Dolopathos* is known as Jean de Haute-Seille, and not as an indefinite "monk of the Abbey of Haute-Selve," and the French translator's name was Herbort not "Hebers" (67). The

translation by Laurent de Premierfait, "Laurens du Premierfait," of the *Decamerone* was not made in 1521 (109) but a century and more earlier. When a writer refers to the possibility that the source of Boccaccio's version of the "Purgatory of Cruel Beauties" (G. V, N. 8) is to be sought in the *Vers de la Mort* of Helinant (166); when he writes "Odo of Shirton" (112), instead of "Sheriton"; when he distinguishes "the 'Liber de donis' of Étienne de Bourbonne," from "the work of Stephen of Bourbon" or "Étienne de Bourbon," "called 'The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit'" (cf. 233, 4, 6, 209, 306); when he only knows the works of Marie de France in Roquefort's edition (161, 244, 278, 279, 313, 354), the *Ruodlieb* in Grimm and Schmeller's *Lateinische Gedichte* (303), and Enikel's *Chronik* in the few extracts given in v. Hagen's *Gesammtabentauer* (11, 278, 292); and when he shows his ignorance of medieval literature by a thousand similar errors, his book which treats largely of just that period of literary history can scarcely be considered seriously. The contribution of English scholarship to Romance studies, with a few brilliant exceptions, has been of a negative quality, and works like the book under criticism do not aid in the improvement of the situation. It is a pity that the head of the publishing house issuing the volume, whose activities in the cause of Romance and comparative literature are so commendable, has been so badly advised as to publish this uncritical compilation.

Miss Jones's work is less ambitious than Mr. Lee's; as it is only a list of the imitations of the stories of the *Decamerone*, and of the dramas, poems, operas, and even paintings inspired by the work of Boccaccio. Although there are omissions in these different categories, too numerous to note, the book has the merit of allowing the reader to see at a glance the results of the investigations of various scholars, known to Miss Jones, who has, moreover, given an independent value to her work by marking with a star the imitations that she has been able to read herself. For this reason one understands why she does not star versions of stories, found in collections of popular folk-tales, which did not have their source in Boccaccio's versions, as is at once evident to one who has the opportunity to read them. In both her introduction and list the author has been unfortunate in going counter to the unanimous opinion of Chaucerian scholars, in her assurance that the English poet was indebted to the *Decamerone* for six of the stories and the frame-work of the *Canterbury Tales*. What is more surprising is to find the *Heptaméron* not mentioned a single time, although its professed model was the *Decamerone*, even if it was only indebted to it for two of its stories (Cf. *Dec.* VII, 6; VIII, 4; *Hept.* I, 6 & 8). An Old-French miracle, an analogue, and not an imitation of *Dec.* II, 9 is properly known as *Le miracle d'Oton, roi d'Espagne* and not as *Le Miracle de Notre Dame*, "Comment le roi d'Espagne perdit sa terre" and its date is c. 1380, and not 1498. The volume of Lami's *Novelle letterarie* (XVII) containing "La Pianella" was published in 1756, not 1755, and the story, printed from a fourteenth century manuscript, was probably derived from the same source as Boccaccio's version. Miss Jones may well question whether Uhland's *Die Todten von Lustnau* was an imitation of *Dec.* X, 4; Liebrecht's study on the cycle, of which both stories are a version, settles that difficulty (*Zur Volkskunde*, 54 ff.).

G. L. H.

Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI^e Siècle. Par JOSEPH VIANEY. Travaux et Mémoires de Montpellier, série littéraire III. Montpellier, Coulet, 1909.

It is forbidden to the Gallic *savant* to be uninteresting even when most erudite. This work, accordingly, which is occupied with the technical task of establishing the parallel between French and Italian Petrarchism, and determining the precise limits of French indebtedness, becomes a thoroughly readable chapter in the history of French literature. M. Vianey has no patriotic bias, and allows the fact to transpire on every page that if we look to ideas, then the French poets of the sixteenth century can make little or no claim to originality. From Marot, who fell in love with Serafino dell' Aquila at Ferrara, to Desportes, whose *livres de chevet* were the *Rime* of Pamphilo Sasso and of Tebaldeo, one and all were on the alert to catch the latest breath of literary fashion that might blow northward across the Alps. Out of the 115 sonnets of *l'Olive*, for example, barely 40 are not imitations; and that only 100 out of 430 sonnets of Desportes should be direct translations, comes to seem to M. Vianey very moderate.

M. Vianey makes it clear that the Italian Petrarchists, and not Petrarch, were the admired models; and he divides the history of French Petrarchism into three periods (which make the first three of the five chapters in his book) according to the Italian masters followed in each. During the first of them, which extends up to the publication of *l'Olive* in 1549, Serafino and Tebaldeo were the arbiters; and the pages devoted to summarizing their fantastic extravagances and conceits, which constituted the fund on which the French poets drew, are the most delightful in the book. Bembo rules the second period, which produced *l'Olive*, and the *Amours* of Ronsard, of Baif, and of Magny (and also Du Bellay's ode *Contre les Pétrarquistes*, which was itself, however, but the reflection of a passing Italian mood), and his influence was salutary, especially as to perfection of form. But it did not endure, and the third epoch, of which Desportes was king and which saw appear the exquisite *Sonnets pour Hélène*, expressed a reaction towards preciosity, as exemplified by the Serafino of the hour, Angelo di Costanzo.

The concluding chapters are entitled respectively: *Le lyrisme chrétien chez les pétrarquistes français du XVI^e siècle*, and *La méditation historique et la satire chez les pétrarquistes français du XVI^e siècle*, and reveal the fact that in these forms of expression, likewise, French poetry was abreast of the newest Italian mode. The *Muse chrestienne*, which was a Catholic counterblast to the Huguenot poetry of du Bartas and d'Aubigné,—and which apparently had to include a number of quite secular sonnets, so they only made complaint against gold or woman!—had its prototype in many an Italian volume of *Rime spirituali*. And even Du Bellay, the most original spirit of the *Pléiade*, though indeed the first Frenchman to sing

L'antique honneur du peuple à longue robbe,

was by no means the first man; while the subjective melancholy, the freedom of personal confession enfranchized from convention, which we hail in *les Regrets*, are foreshadowed in the *Cento Sonetti di M. Alisandro Piccolomini*, published at Rome in 1549.

But M. Vianey's conclusion is, though he confesses to having passed through a period of disillusionment at the results of his investigations, that the master-

pieces of French Petrarchism generously redeem its plagiarisms. Moreover, French Petrarchism had its own originality,—an independence in the matter of poetic forms. These it never took without modification. Maurice Scève borrowed the Italian *strambotto*, but expanded its eight lines into ten; the sonnet was undergoing continual reshaping. Indeed, by picking out and assembling the statements scattered through the pages of this book, we get a complete history of the development of the sonnet-form in France. From the first, the Italian rigidity of sestet was defied, Marot actually using the particular grouping always forbidden to the Italians (CC DEED or CDDC EE, either of which transforms the sonnet from an octave plus two tercets into three quatrains plus a couplet); and we trace its development thence in the hands of various craftsmen, until Ronsard fixed the form with *Francine* (1555) into something which M. Vianey suggests is perhaps not strictly a sonnet at all,—i. e., fourteen lines of Alexandrine verse, with invariable alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes, and the use of the forbidden "Marotic" sestet.

M. Vianey makes a great point of the considerable rôle played in the history of French Petrarchism by the Italian anthologies which were continually appearing; and his appendix contains a list of the most important of them arranged in the chronological order of their publication. A chronological list of the chief works published by the French and Italian Petrarchists between the years 1499 and 1600, completes the matter of the appendix. There is also an alphabetical index.

There are a few misprints, such as *lontemps* on page 89 and *pétrarquisme* on page 294, and one other (page 284) so happy as to deserve quotation in its context, especially as it occurs in a sentence which in some sort sums up M. Vianey's attitude toward this whole question of French originality:

"Disons enfin que si certains de nos pétrarquistes ont pris leur bien chez les Italiens avec un *sang gêne* qui dépasse toutes les bornes permises, beaucoup ont eu plus de discrétion qu'on ne le soutient en général, et plusieurs ont réussi à se créer une manière vraiment personnelle."

RUTH SHEPARD PHELPS

Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume V. By CLARENCE W. ALVORD. Springfield, Illinois, 1909. i + 681 pp.

This volume offers a large number of original documents, whose bearing on the early relations between the French of Illinois and the British government on the one hand and the revolutionists on the other, is of great importance. The French spelling in these documents offers material for dialect study. The picture drawn of the gradual intrusion of the "Americans," of the justice and consideration with which they were treated by the French, of their aggressions, of their seizure of power and of the long succession of crimes committed by them against the French, is one which cannot easily be forgotten. We see here the trickery, duplicity and baseness of such "American pioneers" as Thomas Bentley, John Todd, John Dodge, while George Rogers Clark (who has recently been nominated for the Hall of Fame!) appears in something like his true colors. It is difficult for a citizen of the Republic to read these pages and not blush with shame and anger at the crimes of his ancestors.

R. W.

Estienne Forcadel, un juriste, historien et poète vers 1550. By CHARLES OULMONT. Toulouse, 1907. 8vo, pp. 39.

The fame of Estienne Forcadel rests mainly on the fact that he was preferred for a professorship of law by the faculty of Toulouse to the great Cujas. He has been well characterised as a *mauvais jurisconsulte, mais pire poète*. Patriotic Toulousans have long protested against this reproach cast upon their university, and many have attempted to prove that it is unjust.¹ It is needless to add that M. Oulmont, influenced by civic patriotism, maintains that this celebrated dispute "n'est qu'une légende." He advances as proof for this statement that towards the end of 1554—the year when the controversy is supposed to have taken place—Cujas was already at Bourges, and that it was two years later, the 7th of September, 1556, when Forcadel was elected unanimously to this professorship. Notwithstanding this argument, documents in the archives of the Parliament of Toulouse² show that Cujas was a candidate for the place. The Parliament of Toulouse was regarded by all humanists as more conservative than that of Paris. We can easily pardon the Faculty of Law for this earlier error of judgment in view of the invitation later extended to Cujas, and the esteem in which it held the great jurists, François Roaldès and Guillaume Maran.

M. Oulmont's study is very well presented. His style is elegant and persuasive, but unfortunately his bibliography must be consulted with caution. In the first place, he is apparently unaware of the fact that a serious study on Forcadel was published in the *Revue des Pyrénées* in 1894 by M. Fontès—the same review in which his own article first appeared. Furthermore, though we have little information on the life of Forcadel, M. Oulmont fails to note two important documents communicated by M. Soucaille to the *Revue des Sociétés savantes* (Series VII, Vol. I, 1880, pp. 123-6). In a prefatory note to these documents, M. A. Longnon expresses the opinion that they prove conclusively that La Croix du Maine and other biographers of Forcadel are wrong in stating that the poet died in 1573. One of these documents consists of an ordinance of Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, dated July 12, 1585, and directed against the three brothers, François Estienne, and Pierre Forcadel. According to M. Longnon, this Estienne Forcadel is our poet, and Pierre is his brother, the celebrated professor of mathematics of the Collège Royal of Paris. But the *Lettres patentes*, published by M. Lefranc in his *Histoire du Collège de France* (p. 349), prove that Pierre Forcadel died before February 16, 1574. Furthermore, the *Prometheus, sive de raptu animorum dialogus*—of which the printing was finished on the 24th of July, 1578—was dedicated by Pierre Forcadel to his late father. Inasmuch as Gérard d'Imbert addresses Estienne Forcadel a sonnet in 1578 (cf. his *Sonets exotiques* no. 78), we are forced to agree with

¹ Cf. especially the article of Bénéch on *Cujas et Toulouse* in the *Mélanges de Droit* (Paris, 1857, pp. 3-179), where the learned author, in a reply to the contention of Berriat Saint-Prix, attempts to prove that Cujas "n'a jamais échoué dans la dispute d'une régence de droit civil à l'université de Toulouse, que s'il ne s'est pas arrêté dans sa ville natale en 1554, c'est à cause du peu d'émoluments attachés aux régences de l'Université de Toulouse" (p. 39).

² Cf. those of the 17th of Feb. and the 5th of April, 1554, folios 247 and 360; and also folios 676-7-8 concerning Cujas and Rossel (Aug. 23, 1555, and March 14, 1556).

M. Oulmont that he must have died in 1578, probably in the early part of the year.

It becomes obvious then that the Pierre Forcadel of the document of 1585 is the above-mentioned son of Estienne, and is perhaps the one who died, according to M. Oulmont (p. 4), before 1595. His brother, François, "docteur en droit et advocat au siège de Béziers," was killed in a riot in Béziers on the 14th of June, 1604 (cf. *Rev. des Soc. sav.*, *ibid.*). Of the third brother, Estienne, we learn from another document published by M. Soucaille (*Recherches sur les anciennes pestes à Béziers*, 1884, p. 81) that he took part in a meeting of the city council of Béziers on November 26, 1591, and that he was still *conseiller au Présidial* of that city in 1607, as M. Oulmont shows.⁵

In the part devoted to the work of Forcadel, M. Oulmont makes first a brief and judicious review of his legal studies. He is, however, wrong in considering the 1550 edition of the *Penus juris civilis* as the first edition of this work. There is in the Library of Bordeaux (Jur. 702a, 10201), an edition published in 1542, entitled *Stephani Forcatuli Penus iuris civilis ad rem alimentariam*, Lugduni, M. Parmenterius, 1542, 4to.

Arnauld du Ferrier, to whom the prefatory letter of this work is addressed, was professor of law at Toulouse in 1536⁶ and had the honor of being the teacher of both Cujas and Forcadel. Other legal works of Forcadel unknown to M. Oulmont are the following: *Oratio Stephani Forcatuli, publici in Academia Tolosana legum professoris. Ex offic. Jac. Colomerii, acad. Tolosana typ.* 1556, which is his inaugural address; *Lectiones aliquot juris*,⁷ delivered at Toulouse from 1561 to 1563; and the *Ad Legem fructus percipiendo de usu*, 1575, Carpentras, MS. 227.

In discussing the historical works of Forcadel, M. Oulmont cites no earlier edition of the *De Gallorum imperio* than that of 1595, whereas there were at least two previous editions, one, according to the catalogue Potier, published in 1579 in Paris by Guill. Chaudière (4to), and the other, according to the catalogue Claudin (December, 1882), in 1580 by the same printer (Cf. *Bibl. Sunderlandiana*, No. 4656). Finally, the *Chant des Seraines*, of which M. Oulmont mentions only the edition of Gilles Corrozet (Paris, 1548), was published simultaneously by Jean de Tournes (Lyons, 1548, 8vo, pp. 120) and by Arnoul l'Angelier (Paris, 1548, 16mo).⁸ He fails, also, to note the words, *avec plusieurs compositions nouvelles*, in the title of this work, which prove that there must have been an edition before 1548. The 1574 edition of the *Montmorency Gaulois* is not the first edition of this work, for there is in the Library of Berne (W, 5, 7^e *pièce*) a copy published by Jean de Tournes in 1571 (4to of 29 pages).

M. Oulmont calls Emile Perrot *sénateur* (p. 17) and speaks of the *Sénat*

⁵ P. 5. M. Oulmont is not aware of his relationship with our poet.

⁶ Cf. Buche, *Lettres de Jean de Boyssonné*, *Revue des Langues romanes*, 1895, p. 184.

⁷ Carpentras, ms. 204. Cf. also Lambert, I, p. 112.

⁸ For these two editions, see Picot, *Catalogue de la Bibl. Rothschild*, IV., and the catalogue Techener, 1889. The latter catalogue contains the following note "Forcadel a ajouté à ses poésies l'Extraict d'un petit traité (en vers) sur le fait de la réformation de la superfluité des habits des dames de Paris, par Alphonse de Beser, jadis, abbé de Livry, qu'il dit avoir trouvé dans un vieux ms., en la librairie de Vauluysant."

de Toulouse (p. 18). This is merely a mistranslation of the Latin, for there were no *sénateurs* or *sénats* at this time, but *conseillers* and *parlements*. Jean Bertrand mentioned on page 9, is without doubt Jean Bertrandi, first president of the Parliament of Paris, who administered the oath of office to the *conseillers* of Toulouse.¹

J. L. G.

Das Handschriftenverhältnis des Covenant Vivian. By WILLY SCHULZ. Halle, 1908.

This volume includes a discussion and classification of the nine manuscripts available of the *Covenant Vivien* (the author's spelling *Vivian* is an affectation. The better title, as Mr. A. Terracher has shown, is *Chevalerie Vivien*)¹. In the course of his argument, the author has to cite many passages from the MSS. It is noted with regret that these citations are full of errors. He was evidently set to copying the MSS. without due previous training in paleography. If this supposition be correct, he is less to be blamed than those who allowed him to undertake such difficult work.

The following corrections of the author's readings are offered. On p. 16 and elsewhere, the reading should be *molt* (with a rare possibility at times of *mout*), instead of *moult*. The suggestion of: *Il li fera* is in every manner impossible. On p. 17, l. *Aerofles* for MSS. A and B. Under line 581, why is *gresles* given? One should read *grailles* and *ij grailles*. Line 476: from this text one could never tell the reading of the MSS. P. 18: A has *getes* in l. 1179. P. 20: second l. from the bottom: *il*, instead of *ils*; last l.: instead of *et son frere Laisnez*, read: *Paisnez*; in same l., MS. D¹ has: *nez*. In the last l. of the note, the MS. has *jour*. P. 21: l. 483: *Enfondit* should be written *En fandit*, as in the MS.; similarly, here and wherever it occurs, *par mi*. In l. 484: *anfes*; 487: *mora* and *nes*. Under l. 475, *Malsorz* is followed in the MS. by a period, indicating that the name is abbreviated. This should be shown. The full name was undoubtedly meant to be trisyllabic. In l. 615, MS. A has *perse*, not *perce*. P. 22: several of the readings of the MSS. for lines 464 ss. are erroneous. For example: l. 464: MS. A has *halt*, and in l. 468, *mora*; B, in this same l. has *corones* and not *couronnes*; E has in l. 465 the abbreviation for *Jhesu*, not *Jehus*, and has *vous*; in l. 469, this MS. bears *asis*, not *assis*; MSS. d have, in l. 468: *leur . . . escrie*, and the first l. quoted from D¹ has *vous*. P. 23: often one cannot tell from what MS. the text is given, as here for l. 1045 ss. It is safe to say, however, that, in the first verse cited one should read *Guillaumes*, and, in the last, *cuens*. P. 24: under ll. 1595, 1596, if the author is going to read *enfressi* for B, he should read *entreci* for D¹; the reading for D² is: *Tout le porfent*, and for B, *detrenche*; in the last l. but one on the page, the words should be *ainssi, vous*. P. 25: the discussion of *i uoit* (or *voit*) and the nominative case is due to a mistaken reading by the author, who took *iuoit* (*juoit*) for *i uoit*, thus seeing difficulties that are not in the text. MS. D²

¹ Cf. the documents of 1549 and April 15, 1551, in *Bibl. Nat. Mss. fr.*, 4402, pp. 55 and 90, and also Buche, *ibid.*, 1894, p. 328. For Pierre Forcadet, see the article of Dr. R. L. Hawkins of Harvard in the *Rev. d'hist. litt.*, 1905, pp. 663-5.

² The author, however, has recently made a careful defense of the title as he gives it: *vid. Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXXV (1910), pp. 171-178.

bears: *Jooit Bertrans et ses oncles Guillelme*, and not: *I uoit Bertran*, etc., and B has: *Li quens Guillelmes* (or *Guillaumes*) *juoit a Peschekier*, and not *L. q. G. i uoit* (or *voit*), etc. P. 33: the word *mes* has been omitted (perhaps by the printer?) from the line cited under 314^a; two lines further, instead of *frans* the two MSS. mentiond have *serjanz* and *serjant* (i being of course transcribed *j*). P. 35: in the three lines from MS. E, *teste* is to be corrected to *tieste*, and *Guiborc* to *Guibors*. P. 36: in the third l., read: *chite*. P. 38: in the third l. of poetry cited, the author has corrected *del* to *des* without indicating the fact. P. 39, in the first l. quoted one should read *adire* as a single word, similarly on p. 44. P. 42: under l. 1877, A has *cel*, not *del*, and E has *rirai . . . capler*, not *irai . . . chapter*. P. 43: under ll. 539-41, *parmi* and *enmi*, as elsewhere, might better be written *par mi* and *en mi*; the hyphen in *Inde Superior* is contrary to the genius of the language, and is doubly objectionable in Old French; in the last l. cited, the MS. bears *missaudor*. P. 44: under l. 590, it is preferable to read *consuit* (similarly in the second l. on the page), and *del*, instead of *de le*; the MS., it is true, contains an error, the scribe having apparently taken the initial *t* of *tranchant* for a *c*, but in no case can one read: *de le*; the reading of E is *aprese*, and not as given. Under ll. 690, 691, A has: *cont il meurt . . . regreteis*; the spelling *homme* near the middle of this page calls for some comment. The author has repeatedly assimilated a nasal in the abbreviation to the following consonant. He should adopt a consistent practice, whatever it is. In the reading from B near the bottom of the page, the MS. has *Voir*, not *Voire*. P. 45: the reading for l. 395 is given thus: B(E: . . . *el vrai roi Jehu Crist*, which is neither the reading for B nor for E. The first of these MSS. has: *le vrai roi Jhesu Crist*, and the second: *el crois Jhesu Cris*. In the middle of this page is found the form *Arverne*; from what MS.? I do not know any MS. with this form; even if there be one, why go so far afield to seek such an untypical form? Is it because the more barbarous the spelling, the more learned it is supposed to be? Under 654^a, *vne* should of course be *une*, and is probably an error of the printer. A little farther on, under the reading of E, the MS. bears *sanglent*, and the fourth l. from the bottom of the page should have *estei* (reading of A), or *este* (that of C). P. 46, l. 699: if the reading here is from A, the last word in the l. should be *prei*. C, to be sure, has *pre*. The reading of B as given here should bear *Franchois*. P. 47: in the fourth l. on the page, the text of B has *verites*. In the following l., one should read *poons*, and in the l. below that, *dou ge* is preferable to *douge*. Under l. 1014, the abbreviation indicates *quest*, that is: *qu'est*. P. 49: instead of: *elme a la coife doree*, the MS. mentioned bears: *hiame, tante coife doree*. P. 50: ll. 459, 460: B has *arives*, not *armes*. P. 51: in the second l. the word should be *tenrement*. In the reading given for l. 665, E has *gieron*; the words *la tente*, under l. 856, should be *sa tente*, according to C. The argument concerning the verb in l. 1087 (cf. p. 65) is absolutely valueless. Besides, the MSS. cited under the rubric Ex have all the nominativ case for the past participle. P. 52: under B, the text bears: *He Gerars*, and this l. is followed by one which the author omits for some reason: *Vos me devies le secors amener*. The omission should have been indicated. P. 53: the fifth l. on the page reads in the MS.: *A tant e vos lor*. The fact that the line is unintelligible is hardly a reason

for not giving it as it stands. Under E, at the middle of the page, the second l. has in the MS. *reprendons*, and the l. following, *bons brans*; the last l. of this citation has a very serious blunder: instead of: *vos ert si grans*, the MS. bears: *u est la grans*. Under l. 1668, read: *Hui mais*. P. 54, l. 94 reads in A: *Et dus et princes, demoinés et chases*. P. 55: l. 513 has: *bran . . . turs*; E has, as the last word in this l., *maris*, not *marsis*; the l. following has *viers*, and the word *païens* printed by the author in the next l. is entirely lacking in the MS.; in the last l. here cited from this MS., *Païen* should be *Paiens*. The variants of B also include errors: the MS. has in the second l. *achier*, and in the third, *Païen*. Under l. 962, the order of words for MS. B is incorrect; it should be: *En la v. e*. P. 56: the last l. quoted from B in the middle of the page should have *esporon*; at the bottom of the page, the reading of A is: *qui li prist a torner*, and that of B has *glachant*. P. 58, first l.: read *deuommes*; under 1254^a, E has *ceval*; l. 1351, MS. E: the word is written *grefegne*. P. 59: last two lines: here and everywhere the abbreviation for *Jhesu* has been misread. P. 61: in the second l., the reading should be: *qu'est*; l. 792 ss.: the reading is not *James*, but *Ja mes*, as the syntax shows; *lignages* should be corrected to *linages*. P. 62: in the first l., the MS. bears *Guichars*. P. 63: under l. 1622 ss.: *bran d'acier*. P. 65: l. 1017: instead of *mes*, the word should be *nies*; in l. 1080, MS. E: read *onnore* or *ounore*. P. 69: from what MS. is the form *morrez* taken? Under 1165, E, the MS. has *biaus nies*. P. 72: l. 440: the MS. has *Biar* (or, of course, *Biaus*) *nies Gerart*; l. 390: the MS. bears *Viviens*, and does not have at all the words *se vos*. L. 626: the MS. has: *Viviens l'ot mais sa dolor*, and similarly the next l. includes errors, for MS. B has here: *Viviens l'ot, dolor en ot a chertes*. In the following l., one should read *suist*, and in l. 630, *Fiert lou . . . ensin se desraisme*; in l. 632, the MS. reads *fait*.

What shall be said of these many errors, whose number could easily be increast? Are they in part due to pure carelessness? It is not difficult to become confused among so many manuscripts, so much so, that I may have committed blunders in some of my readings given above. The author may excuse some of his omissions on the ground that it is impossible to offer all the variants, and this is of course perfectly correct. None the less, this much is certain: that the author's volume is, paleografically speaking, full of blunders. In many cases, these errors appear due to his inability to read the manuscripts; in others, however, he seems to have altered at will the real readings, which are so clear that he can not have mistaken them: for example, if l. 1877, cited on p. 42, reads in MS. E: *Et je rirai pries del estor capler*, why state that it reads: *Et je irai pries del estor chapter*?

The author bases a classification of the manuscripts of the *Chevalerie Vivien* on such readings as he offers. Are his conclusions vitiated by the careless and defectiv treatment of the manuscripts? Can one build a firm structure on such insecure foundations? Unfortunately for the scientific standing of our studies, it is possible to erect a fairly strong building on such a foundation, but

² Professor H. Suchier says (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIII, p. 49, note 2) that he possesses at Halle copies of all MSS. of our poem, except that at Cheltenham. One wonders if the citations given in the present volume are samples of the MSS. in his possession.

it must be done by avoiding too much weight on minute points. The author occasionally lays too much stress on such points, and his conclusions in these cases must be set aside, at least until they can be verified. In general, however, he draws his conclusions from broader data, and he shows no small skill in this sort of argument.

I agree with the author's statement that Gaudin le brun in *Aliscans* is a relatively late introduction,—a statement advanced by me years ago.³

Some valuable remarks concerning the *petit vers* are to be found on p. 14. . . . The force of the argument concerning the Saracen who brings news (p. 33) may well be doubted. . . . The author misunderstands (p. 46) the reasons why the hero's men decline to leave him? . . . The statement about the messenger (pp. 65, 66) is quite unwarranted, as also, in my opinion, the mention of Renoart in connection with the dream (p. 66). . . . The author's general conclusion concerning the text of the *Chevalerie* appears sound (p. 66), and the same may be said of his remarks about MS. A (pp. 67, 68). . . . In conclusion, let it be said that I am far from wishing to discourage Mr. Schulz from continuing his studies in the old epic. His defects are due to carelessness, and to lack of specific knowledge in certain lines. These are matters which time can cure, and we may yet see from his pen work that commands unqualified approval.

R. W.

³ P. 13, note.

BRIEF REPORT ON AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ROMANCE SCHOLARSHIP IN 1909 (*continued*)

GENERAL

The Phonology of Gallic Clerical Latin after the Sixth Century, by C. C. Rice. Harvard thesis. An introductory historical study based chiefly on Merovingian and Carolingian spelling, and on the forms of Old French loan-words. *Pseudo-Karaïbisches*, by L. Wiener, *Zeits. für romanische Philologie*, XXXIII, 5.

FRENCH

Les Œuvres de Simund de Freine, publiées d'après tous les manuscrits connus, by J. E. Matzke, *Soc. des Anciens Textes Français*, LXXXVIII + 187 pp. *Études sur Aliscans* by R. Weeks, *Romania*, XXXVIII (1909), pp. 1-43. *Some Remarks on a Berne Ms. of the Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne*, by H. A. Smith, *same*, pp. 120-8. *The Reconstruction of the original Chanson de Roland*, by F. B. Luquiens, *Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XV (1909), pp. III + 36. *Use of pome in the Old French references of the forbidden fruit*, by O. M. Johnston, *Zeits. für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, XXXV (1909), pp. 56-9. *Pome* is used because *poma* or *pomum* existed already in Latin references to the myth of Tantalus. *The Aesopic Fables in the Miroir Historial of Jehan de Vignay*, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Bibliography, by G. E. Snavely, Baltimore, J. H. Furst & Co., 8vo, 47 pp. (Johns Hopkins Dissertation). *Chievre-foi*, by Gertrude Schoepperle, *Romania*, XXXVIII, pp. 196-218. *Middle English and French Glosses from ms. Stowe 57*, by R. M. Garrett, *Arch. der neueren Sprachen*, XVII, p. 121. *Analogue of Pierre Pathelin*, by R. Weeks, *Maître Phonétique*, 1909, pp. 67-68. A version of the story in Bengali. *Wyatt and the French Sonneteers*, by J. M. Berdan, *Mod. Lang. Review*, IV, pp. 240-9. Attempts to prove that Saint-Gelais translated a sonnet from Wyatt, and that others of his sonnets show influence of the English author. Prof. Kastner, however, contends, in the same issue, that the two sonnets of Saint-Gelais and Wyatt are modelled on a sonnet of Sannazaro (pp. 249-53). *Notes sur Raulin Séguier, humaniste narbonnais du seizième siècle, et sur Antoine Arlier, de Nîmes*, by J. L. Gerig, *Les Annales du Midi*, XXI (1909), pp. 483-95. *Le Collège de la Trinité à Lyon avant 1540 avec une notice sur Jean Raynier d'Angiers*, by J. L. Gerig, *Revue de la Renaissance*, X (1909), pp. 137-57; 204-15. *Notes sur le vocabulaire de Maupassant et de Mérimée*, by A. Schinz, *Revue des Langues romanes*, LII, pp. 504-31. *Autour d'un accent: Genève et Gênois*, by A. Schinz, *Revue de Philologie française et de Littérature*, XXII, p. 4. *Charles-Augustin de Sainte-Beuve*, by G. M. Harper, *French Men of Letters Series*, Philadelphia, 1909. *The Claims of French Poetry*, by J. C. Bailey, Kennerly, New York, 313 pp., 8vo. Nine studies on Ronsard, Marot, La Fontaine, André Chénier, Hugo, Leconte de Lisle, de Heredia, etc.

ITALIAN

Pampinea and Abrotonia, by E. H. Wilkins, reviewed in *Giornale storico*, LIII, 1. *Was Dante acquainted with Aristoteles' Poetics?*, by W. H. Rogers, *Giornale Dantesco*, XVI, pp. 5-6. A Livingston: some Italian satiric predicates of the eighteenth century, reviewed in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* XXIV, p. 4.

SPANISH

The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega, by H. A. Rennert, *Hispanic Society*, New York, XV+635 pp., 8vo. *El Dómine Lucas of Lope de Vega and some related plays*, by G. T. Northup, *Mod. Lang. Review*, IV, pp. 462-73. Thorough discussion of plays showing a marked resemblance to the one in question. *Short Stories and Anecdotes in Spanish Plays*, by M. A. Buchanan, *Mod. Lang. Review*, IV, pp. 178-84. A careful list of a large number of such stories in the plays of Calderón, Lope de Vega, and contemporaries. *Studies in New Mexican Spanish, I: Phonology*, by A. M. Espinosa, *Revue de Dialectologie romane*, II, pp. 1-116. *Lord Byron's Experiences in the Spanish Peninsula in 1809*, by P. H. Churchman, *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1909. *Byron and Espronceda*, by P. H. Churchman, *Revue Hispanique*, XX, pp. 5-210. Influence of Byron on José de Espronceda (1808-1842), 1, in the intellectual domain (ably presented, but not always convincing); 2, in literary matters (Is possibly the influence of French Romanticism greater than the author suspects?); 3, and, finally, concrete borrowings, a chapter that is carefully worked out. According to Profesor Churchman, Espronceda read Byron in English. Reviews of the recent volumes of the new *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, by H. A. Rennert, *Mod. Language Review*, IV (1909), pp. 422-5. *Review of Le Lyrisme et la Préciosité cultistes en Espagne, par L. P. Thomas*, by M. A. Buchanan, same, pp. 551-2. Additional facts. *Review of Chrestomathia archaica, por J. J. Nunes*, by H. R. Lang, *Revista lusitana*, VIII, and cf. *Zeits. für romanische philologie*, XXXIII, 3.

NOTES AND NEWS

An important change with regard to French and German has been established at Harvard. For many years, French A and German A have been required of all candidates for the A.B. degree. In addition to this, there is now to be a special oral examination in the two languages mentioned, the said examination to precede admission to the Junior class. This new test will make doubly sure that all the students can use French and German freely in literary and scientific courses before the beginning of the studies of the Junior year. A reading, and not a speaking, knowledge is what is to be insisted upon.

All who are interested in discovering the truth concerning the French occupation of territory within the limits of the present United States should read the volume by C. W. Alvord: *Kaskaskia Records*, which is briefly mentioned among our reviews.

Dr. Rudolph Schevill, assistant professor of Spanish at Yale University, has accepted the professorship in Spanish at the University of California.

One of the important appointments of the season is that of Mr. Adolphe Louis Terracher, of the University of Upsala, to be acting-associate professor of French literature at Johns Hopkins. Professor Terracher was one of the most brilliant students of the École Normale, Paris, of the École des Hautes Etudes, and of the Collège de France. His edition of the *Chevalerie Vivien* was noticed in our last number.

Mr. Herbert D. Austin, A.B., A.M., of Princeton, has been appointed instructor in Romance languages at Johns Hopkins.

Mr. Barry Cerf and Mr. C. D. Zdanowicz, instructors in Romance languages at the University of Wisconsin, have been promoted to assistant professorships.

A new series of volumes, to be called the *Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*, has been established under the guidance of Professor W. H. Schofield. The first volume is expected to appear in June.

Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa has accepted the call to Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Mr. Homer A. Harvey, of the University of Illinois, has been appointed instructor in Romance languages at Syracuse University.

Those who are interested in Experimental Phonetics will be glad to know the new address of one of the most skilful constructors of fonetic instruments, R. Montalbetti, 141 Boulevard Saint Michel, Paris.

A department of Comparative Literature has been established at Bryn Mawr. It has been placed under the charge of Professor Alfred H. Upham, who has been called from Miami University.

Many will be interested to learn that some time ago the following three societies in England: the Modern Language Association, the Classical Association and the Association of Assistant Masters, passed resolutions that French should be the second language studied by English boys.

Professor John M. Burnam, of Cincinnati University, will spend next year in Europe, where he will continue work on his forthcoming treatise on Iberian Paleography, a treatise which will be of the greatest value to Romance scholars.

The death of Professor Adolf Tobler at Berlin was announced on the eighteenth of March, 1910. The first of April had been selected as the date of his retirement from his long service, and Professor Heinrich Morf had been appointed his successor at the University of Berlin.

Mr. Louis Imbert, of the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed instructor in the Extension teaching of French and Spanish at Columbia University. He will pass the summer in France.

Professor C. H. Grandgent recently occupied Boccaccio's chair for a public lecture at Florence. He is the first American to deliver a lecture in this historic series. He spoke concerning Dante scholarship in America. In recognition of his work in Italian literature, the Italian Dante Society presented him a gold medal. An account of Professor Grandgent's lecture will be found in *Il Marzocco* of April 17, 1910, and the lecture is expected to appear in the May number of the *Giornale Dantesco*.

It is reported that the class of 1890 at Princeton has completed its fund of \$10,000 for the endowment of the special library in Romance languages. The class now proposes to raise an additional sum of \$10,000 for the same purpose.

Mr. D. S. Blondheim, A.B., 1906, Johns Hopkins, Ph.D. of the same university, has been appointed instructor in Romance languages at the University of Illinois.

Miss Ruth Shepard Phelps, a graduate student at Columbia University, has been appointed instructor in Italian at the University of Minnesota.

An important fonetic conference was held in New York City, at the Waldorf-Astoria, on April 6th last. The object of the conference was to consider certain slight modifications of the fonetic alphabet recently adopted for English, modifications which would perhaps lead publishers of dictionaries and text books to adopt a more scientific alphabet. It is believed that the object of the conference will be attained. The Modern Language Association was represented in the conference by Professors E. S. Sheldon, Calvin Thomas, Raymond Weeks; the American Philological Association, by Dr. C. P. G. Scott (Professors G. L. Kittredge and George Hempl not being in attendance); the National Educational Association by Mr. E. O. Vaile, Dr. Melvil Dewey, Professor T. M. Balliet, President H. H. Seerley and Superintendent W. H. Maxwell.

It has been announced that professor Henry R. Lang has been made a corresponding member of the Royal Spanish Academy of Galicia, a member of the Royal Geographical Society of Lisbon, and has received from the Spanish Government a silver medal commemorating the siege of Zaragoza. He is preparing a critical edition, with English version and literary comment, of the so-called *Prohemio* of Marqués de Santillana (1449), the first history of the artistic poetry of Italy, France, and Spain down to that time. Prof. Lang will soon publish also a study of the lyric poetry of Spain in the middle ages.

Adjunct professor E. P. Dargan, of the University of Virginia, has resigned to accept a professorship in French at the University of California. Professor Dargan graduated at Bethel College, Ky., and later received his doctorate at Johns Hopkins, in 1906. He is the author of a number of articles, mostly in the field of modern French literature.

President Finley, of the College of the City of New York, has been selected

as the Hyde lecturer at the Sorbonne for next year. His subject will be: "The regions in America in which the French were pioneers." He will be glad to receive information of rare documents concerning this subject.

It is announced that the forthcoming edition of the *Chanson de Guillaume* by Professor H. Suchier has been delayed. A cheap edition of this poem, under the title of *L'Archans*, is said to have been published by G. Ragoczy, at Freiburg im-Bresgau.

Professor Louis H. Dow, of Dartmouth, will spend next year in Europe, mostly in France.

Since 1881 the Johns Hopkins University has conferred the degree of doctor of philosophy on forty-nine students in the department of Romance languages, which has been from its organization continuously under the direction of Prof. A. Marshall Elliott. Of the graduates of this department twenty-one are now heads of departments or full professors in universities or colleges, including the Universities of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Pittsburgh, Stanford, Yale, Alabama, Indiana, Ohio, Virginia and Washington, and Amherst, Bryn Mawr, Gallaudet, Goucher, Oberlin, and Randolph-Macon Colleges. Sixteen others are associate or assistant professors. In addition nine, now dead or engaged in other occupations, were formerly full professors in institutions of similar rank.

It is announced that Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, recently discovered a fragment of about 1200 lines of *Guy of Warwick*, in the library of York Minster.

Two prizes have been offered at Harvard for French and Spanish compositions.

Professor Francis B. Gummere, of Haverford, has been appointed Harris lecturer at Northwestern University for next year. He will treat "The history and development of the early art of poetry, its relation to myth and ritual, the problems of its differentiations, its present state and future prospects."

The department of Romance languages of Bryn Mawr has enjoyed the unusual honor of seeing two of its students obtain European fellowships for next year. They are Miss Eunice Morgan Schenck and Miss Helen Maxwell King, the latter an A.B. of Olivet College.

Professor Asa H. Morton, head of the department of Romance languages at Williams College, has been transferred to the Barclay Jermain professorship of natural theology, and will spend the year 1910-11 in Europe.

Dr. W. G. Howard, of Harvard, the treasurer and acting-secretary of the Modern Language Association, has been made assistant professor of German.

Bulletin No. 2 for 1909 of the Société des anciens textes français is out. It is especially valuable for a statement of the approved methods of editing early texts. All who expect to edit ancient texts should read with care this bulletin.

Professor B. L. Bowen, of Ohio State University, intends to pass next year in Europe.

Dr. H. M. Evers, who is spending the present year at Madrid, has been appointed instructor in Romance languages at the Woman's College, Western Reserve University.

The title of the work on Petrarch to be competed for under the foundation

of the late Willard Fiske is: *Francesco Petrarca e la Toscana*. The amount of the prize will be 3000 lire. The latest date for sending in manuscripts is the 31 of December, 1912, and they are to be delivered at the R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. They must be written in Italian. The members of the committee in charge are: Guido Biagi, Guido Mazzoni, Pio Rajna. For further particulars, address the editors of this *Review*.

Professor Thomas E. Oliver, of the University of Illinois, will spend next year in Europe.

Mr. George S. Chapin, a graduate of Bowdoin in 1893, has received an appointment in Romance languages at Ohio State University. He will spend the summer in France and Spain.

Dr. John L. Gerig and Mr. C. Fontaine have been appointed assistant professors of Romance languages at Columbia University.

Professor George L. Kittredge, of Harvard, has been elected an Honorary Foreign Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom.

Mr. D. N. Inglis, who received his degree of master of arts at the University of Wisconsin two years ago, and has since been assistant in the French department there, has received an appointment as professor of Romance languages at Milton College, Wisconsin.

Dr. B. Franzen-Suedélius, a graduate student at Columbia University, has accepted a position as lecturer in French at McMaster University, Toronto.

Professor Charles B. Newcomer, of Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., has accepted the chair in Romance languages at Drake University, Des Moines, Ia. He expects to pass the summer in France and Spain.

Mr. Edward J. Fortier, of the University of Illinois, has been elected instructor in Romance languages at Columbia University.

It is reported that Professor Konrad Schiffmann, of Linz, Austria, has discovered a sheet of a magnificent manuscript (XIIIth century) of a translation into German of the *Chanson de Roland*. The fragment is said to contain 140 lines.

Dr. Herbert H. Vaughan, of Trinity College, Durham, N. C., has accepted an instructorship in Romance Languages at Dartmouth College.

Mr. Arthur L. Owen, of the University of Illinois, has been elected to an assistant professorship in Romance languages at the University of Kansas. He will spend the summer at Paris.

The prospectus has been received of the fourth year of the Summer University of Florence, which is modeled on the similar *cours de vacance* so well established in various parts of France, Switzerland and Germany. From August 1 to September 15, 1910, courses will be given in Italian language and literature by Professors Giulio Caprin and Giuseppe Gargano, in Italian history by Professor Aldo Sorani, and in the history of art by Professors Nello Tarchiani and Guido Traversari. The fee of forty lire covers all courses, and in addition gives admission to the museums of Florence and the right to take part in excursions. Information may be obtained by addressing "Segretario della Università Estiva, 4 via Tornabuoni, Florence.

The minister of public instruction in France has made his report, and it contains some interesting facts concerning the attendance at French universities. The total is given as more than 40,000 for the school year. Of these, 17,512

are accredited to the University of Paris, and 1442 to the new University of Alger. The number of women is given as 3830. It is interesting and significant to note the large number of foreign students in residence,—more than 5,000, of whom 122 are from the United States. The rapid increase in foreign students is apparent if one compare the statistics of twenty years ago: 457; and of ten years ago: 1174. The number of foreign students five years ago was 1633. The favorite study of the foreigners is literature.

The printing of the *Loa de la Comedia* as prose, and not as verse, on page 41 of our first number, and the form *Itorozco* for *Horozco* in the following line on the page, were not the author's fault, but were due to the haste incident to the preparation of the initial number of the *Review*.

Professor Kenneth McKenzie desires to state that after the appearance, in No 1 of *The Romanic Review*, of his article *The Problem of the "Lonsa," with an Unpublished Text*, he had not seen an article by Jules Camus in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. LIII, pp. 1-40, entitled *La "Lonsa" de Dante et les "léopards" de Pétrarque, de l'Arioste, etc.*, in which a portion (but not the whole) of the *lonsa* chapter in the Paris Ms. is printed. He hopes to publish in a later number of the *Review* some supplementary notes on the subject. It is expected that the complete text of the Italian bestiary, edited by Professor McKenzie and Dr. Garver of Yale University, will be published shortly by the Società Filologica Romana.

In selecting a title for our *Review*, the editors hesitated between *Romanic Review* and *Romance Review*. The former name was tentatively adopted, although it was found later, when all of the editors had expressed their opinion, that a majority seemed to favor the latter name. The opinions of some of the editors appear below. Additional opinions of editors and contributors will be published in our third and fourth numbers. Brief expressions of preference in this important matter will be welcomed.

"I shall probably continue to use *Romance*, unless the other word becomes so preponderant that persistence would spell only obstinacy, but I have no objection to *Romanic Review* as the title of the new journal, nor even any such serious objection to the substitution in general of *Romanic* for *Romance* that I should be inclined to oppose it. The term is hardly even comparatively novel, since in this country it has, for a number of years, in one institution at least, figured in the official titles of departments." E. C. A.

"In regard to the advisability of the use of the term *Romanic* in the title of the new review, let me say that I see no objection to it. It is perhaps less open to misinterpretation by the general public than the more usual term *Romance*." H. R. L.

"The word *Romance*, as a designation for the languages derived from the language of Rome, is open to objection on the score of its many other meanings in modern English, meanings which, even in the minds of the fairly well-educated, have lost most, if not indeed all, of their relation to Rome.

"So far as I recall, no other language has an exact mate for the form *Romance*, as a designation for these languages, even French, from which we took the form, having felt the necessity of reborrowing the Latin adjective *Romanus-um*. Nor, for that matter, do I recall in English a mate for the form *Romance* as a designation for any other language.

"The form *Romanic* is open to none of these objections. It has no multipli-

city of meanings, and is in excellent company, as a form, both at home and abroad, as witness the numerous adjectives descended from analogous Latin forms, e. g.: Arabic, Celtic, Chaldaic, Germanic, Hebraic, Hispanic, Italic, Teutonic, and their companions in most of the other languages." J. D. F.-G.

"I take no stock in the remark that *Romance Review* would suggest book reviews of novels, since the new venture is not intended for people at large, but for the informed. I prefer *Romance* on historical and every other ground, and find *Romanic* unattractive." J. D. M. F.

"As for *Romance* and *Romanic*, each word will doubtless always have supporters, but apart from the arguments that may be advanced for the word *Romance*, it seems to me that this word having been used so long in English with a definite meaning should incline us to adopt *Romanic* as a more fitting term, and this I have always used." H. A. R.

"I prefer *Romance* to *Romanic*." E. S. S.

"Personally, I had, when the question was first mentioned, no great choice between *Romance* and *Romanic*. I saw some objection to both. However, at the recent meeting of the Modern Language Association at Iowa City, I learned that the Romance men were, as far as I could discover, unanimous in favor of *Romance*, and that there would be considerable criticism of *Romanic*. For that reason, if for no other, I should favor *Romance*." H. A. S.
